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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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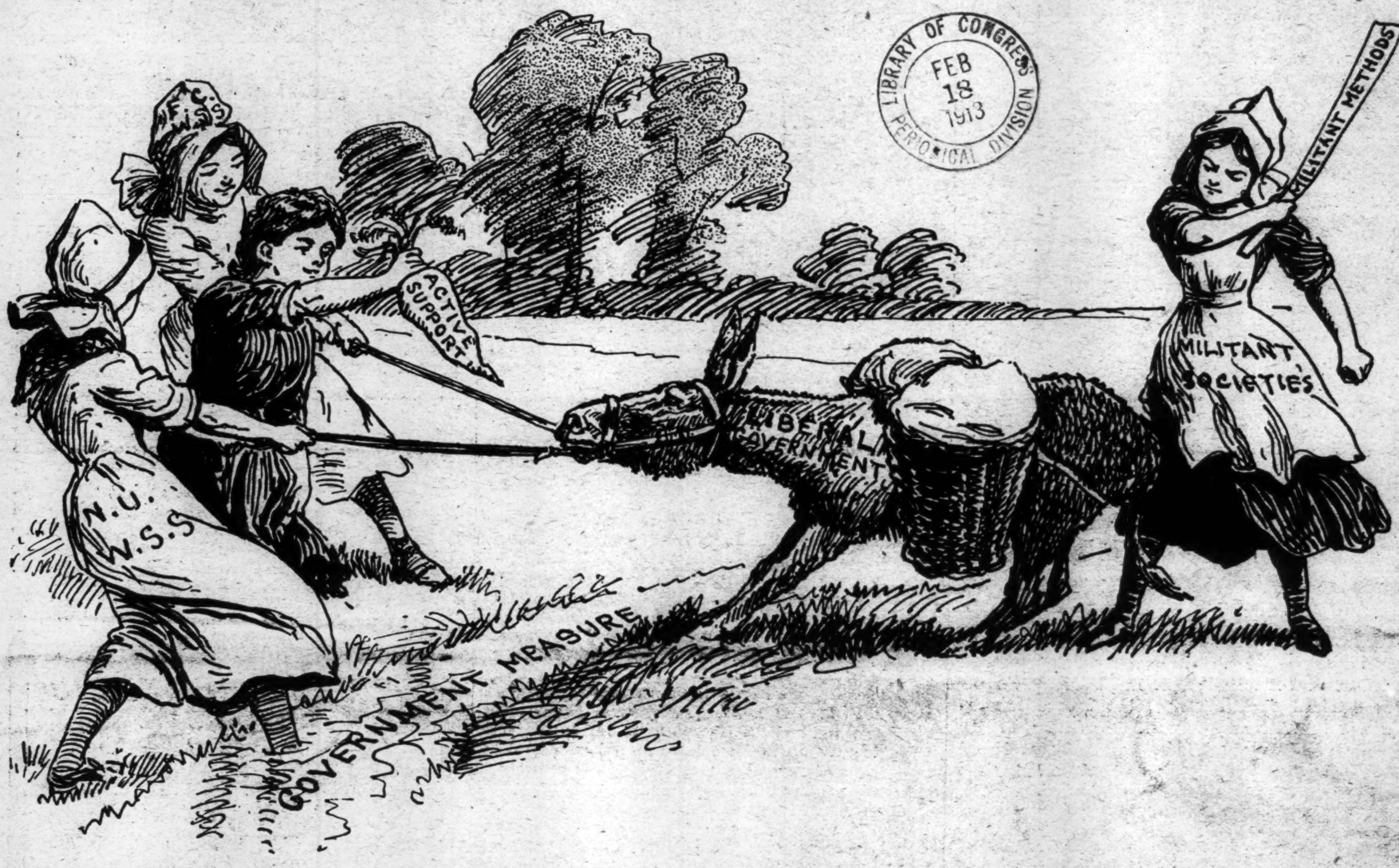

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“WHAT A PITY IT WON’T GO QUIETLY!”

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Ten days have now gone by since the new pledge as to Woman Suffrage was given by the Government. Each of these days has seen more clearly established the worthlessness of the pledge, and the determination of women to accept nothing less than a Government measure for their enfranchisement.

Why the Pledge is Worthless

Apart altogether from Parliamentary intrigue—the evil possibilities of which were made apparent during the weeks which immediately preceded the Speaker's recent ruling—and the risk which a private Member's Bill would run if it were opposed by the House of Lords, there is a fatal flaw in the procedure outlined by the Government. This flaw must inevitably result in the conversion of the Suffrage majority which actually exists in the present House of Commons into a minority, and in the consequent defeat of the Suffrage Bill.

The Essential Factor for a Non-Party Majority

Theoretically, a vote may be carried in the House of Commons either by a party or a non-party majority. In the first case, the Government make it a party question; they put on their Whips to tell in favour of it, and by threatening that its defeat will destroy the Government they reduce opposition within their own ranks to so small a figure that the party majority is maintained. In the second case, the vote is carried by securing a majority composed of men drawn from both parties, who between them are able to defeat a minority of men also coming from both sides of the House. It is of the essence of this second method that the Government of the day should remain strictly impartial, and therefore it can only come into operation in cases in which the Government consider the result immaterial to themselves.

Government Neutrality Impossible

The fallacy in supposing that a Woman Suffrage Bill can be carried by this second method of procedure lies in the fact that in a matter so important as a revision of the franchise laws the interests of the Party in power are certain to be involved. A really neutral attitude on the part of the Government is therefore impossible, and one of two things will inevitably happen. Either the Bill will be originally drafted and introduced on really non-party lines—in which case it will be unacceptable to the Government, and some Minister will be put up at a later stage to give it its death-blow—or the Bill will be drafted in the first instance in a form which favours the Government, in which case it will lose the support of friendly members of the Opposition. In neither case will it be carried into law.

The Fate of the Conciliation Bill

The Conciliation Bill was a measure contrived on a really non-party basis, having been drafted by a committee of genuine Suffragists drawn from all parties in the House of Commons. Experts computed that it would have enfranchised about a million women, and that there was reason to suppose that the support of these new voters would be distributed among the parties in much the same proportion as the existing electorate. This was not good enough for the Government. Mr. Lloyd George denounced the Bill in 1910 as unfit for a Liberal Government to sanction, and declared that if facilities were to be given to a non-party measure they must be given to one capable of free amendment (that is to say, to a measure which the Government could change into something more favourable to their party). The conditions of the Government were, however, complied with in 1911, but facilities were refused for that year and promised for 1912. In the meanwhile, the Conciliation Committee, who were in charge of the measure, realising that any substantial alteration of the Bill would mean the destruction of the compromise on which it was based, were busy obtaining from M.P.'s pledges to vote for the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill. So successful were they that there seemed a good prospect that the Bill would actually be carried. In view of this contingency the Government again interfered by announcing the introduction of the ill-fated Franchise Bill; this announcement, in the historic words of Mr. Lloyd George, "torpedoed" the Conciliation Bill.

The Bill of Next Session

When Mr. Asquith's statement was first made on Monday in last week, it was originally supposed that a Committee, or a "Cabinette," as it was jocularly called, would be formed of members favourable to Woman Suffrage, selected from all parties, on whom would devolve the duty of forming and taking charge of the new Bill in the Session of 1913. Mr. Balfour even went so far as to suggest that he himself would be a member of that Committee, and that Mr. Lloyd George would perhaps be its chairman. If this course had been pursued, and in the result a measure equally favourable to both parties had been evolved, it would, no doubt, have ultimately suffered a fate similar to that of the Conciliation Bill. But events took an entirely different turn. Instead of a non-party Committee getting to work on a neutral Bill, a purely party Committee, consisting of those Suffragists who are members of the Liberal Party, were summoned together to meet on Thursday in last week.

"An Essential Product of Liberalism"

Writing on the previous (Wednesday) night, "P. W. W.," of the *Daily News*, after stating that Mr. Lloyd George intended to be present himself, went on to say:—

> It has been decided by the conveners of the meeting to consolidate Liberal forces before attempting to construct a "Cabinette." Conservative help will be welcomed, but the first necessity is to secure a straightforward Bill which can be defended as an essential product of Liberalism on any Liberal platform.

At the same time, Mr. Whitehouse, M.P., secretary of the Liberal Pro-Suffrage Committee, told a representative of the *Standard* that Liberal Suffragists had never consented to the proposal to form a Cabinette, and that there was, in fact, no prospect of their doing so at the present stage.

Liberal Suffragists to Act by Themselves

The actual meeting of pro-Suffrage Liberals took place as arranged, and no less than five members of the Government were present and took an active part in the discussion—the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Macnamara, Mr. Ellis Griffith, and Mr. F. D. Acland; Mr. Lloyd George himself was detained in the House, but sent a message through the Attorney-General. According to the usually well-informed London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, the result of the meeting was that

> the revival of any composite body like the Conciliation Committee is extremely unlikely. The feeling was expressed at to-day's meeting by several members and by at least one member of the Ministry that it would be better for Liberal suffragists to come to a decision by themselves as regards their plans for taking advantage of the Prime Minister's pledge.

He added that this view found particular favour among the members of the Irish Party who were present.

The Effect of the Decision

The effect of this decision of Liberal Suffragists is that the new Bill will not be a non-party Bill, but a Liberal Bill construtced by, and with a view to the advantage of, the Liberal Party. Under these circumstancces it has no chance of securing the full support of Unionist Suffragists; in fact, it may easily find the whole Unionist party solid against it. Says the *Globe:* "In certain quarters the position is not yet fully understood, but the fact that the Radical Suffragist M.P.'s found it advisable to meet alone last night, in consultation with the Women's Liberal Federation, is a sign of the times. We see it suggested to-day that this attitude on the part of the Radicals caused surprise in the lobby. As a matter of fact the meeting was the first evidence of the effect of the new wedge the Government have driven into Votes for Women." The writer goes on to predict that with a few possible exceptions Unionists will not give their support to the Bill. Coming as this does from a source hostile to Woman Suffrage, it is, nevertheless, a statement of simple fact.

We are Under No Delusion

Let us make our position perfectly clear. We have not the smallest objection to obtaining Votes for Women by means of a Bill which is the "essential product of Liberalism." If, in addition, the Bill is one which favours the Liberal Party machine as against the Unionist Party machine, that is no concern of ours. But we are under no delusion. If a Bill of this kind is to be carried, it must be carried by the full force of the Liberal Party, including Government support, Party Whips, and the normal machinery by which the Party majority is maintained in the House of Commons. It cannot be carried by an unofficial group consisting solely of those supporters of Woman Suffrage who are at the same time members of the Coalition; for the simple reason that by themselves they do not constitute a majority of the House.

Private Member's Bill has No Chance

Let us restate the position. A private member's Bill, drawing support from both sides of the House, could only be carried provided the Government were prepared to remain neutral not merely as to the actual voting but as to the nature of the Bill itself. This proviso was not fulfilled in the case of the Conciliation Bill, and it is already evident that it will not be fulfilled for the new Bill. More than that, it is a proviso inherently incapable of fulfilment under modern political conditions. We therefore say definitely that this method of attempting to deal with Woman Suffrage is foredoomed to failure, and only those can advocate it who are either deliberately putting women off or who have themselves not sufficiently considered the situation. We are thrown back on the only other method, the one which is in strict accordance with the practice of the Constitution, the introduction by the Government of a Government measure for the enfranchisement of women.

An Anti-Government Policy

How clearly these facts are appreciated by women is evidenced by the unanimity with which the Suffrage societies have rejected the worthless pledge for facilities for a private Member's Bill and have demanded a Government measure. On page 268 will be found some of the resolutions which have been carried by the different societies supplementing those that we gave last week. Of course, the mere demand for a Government measure is not enough by itself; to be effective it must be coupled with an immediate anti-Government policy. We are glad to see that practically all the societies forming the group affiliated to the Federated Council have decided to take this course, and we hope to hear that this policy is the one in future to be pursued by the N.U.W.S.S.

The Labour Party

The Labour Party adopted a friendly resolution at their recent National Conference in London, calling upon the Government to take up the Suffrage Bill if it passed its second reading in the House of Commons, and binding Labour M.P.'s to oppose any further extension of the franchise unless women were included. If the Labour Party were a party in opposition, this result (except in so far as the proposal to take up the Bill after second reading falls short of a Government measure) would be wholly satisfactory. As it is, however, the Labour Party form an integral part of the Coalition; the transference of their votes to the Opposition would before very long bring about the defeat of the Government. They have, therefore, a definite responsibility for Government policy, and this responsibility they cannot shed by the adoption of any attitude, however friendly. Under these circumstances, it is a necessary corollary to the anti-Government policy that Suffragists shall withdraw all support from Labour candidates until such time as the Labour Party shall bring the necessary pressure to bear on the Government to cause them to place Woman Suffrage on the Government programme and introduce a measure to give effect to it.

Liberal Women

Prior to the declaration of the Prime Minister last week it had been arranged that the Council of the Women's Liberal Federation would be called together when the fate of the Woman Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill had been decided. Instead of this, the Executive met and passed a resolution expressing their "disappointment" at the Speaker's ruling, and their "regret" that Mr. Asquith could not see his way to promise a Government measure, but nevertheless pledging themselves to try to make the most of such opportunity as was provided. The Executive further decided to postpone the proposed meeting of the Council until after the introduction of the new Bill. It is too early to judge whether the majority of Liberal Women's Associations throughout the country will acquiesce in this weak attitude towards the Government, or in the postponement of the meeting of the Council; but undoubtedly among individual members there are signs of a determination to adopt a much more vigorous policy. The spirited speech of Mrs. Cobden Hirst in the dock at Bow Street should convince the Government of the danger they are running in further estranging their women, and the letter which we reprint from the *Manchester Guardian* is, as the writer says, another sign of the direction in which the wind is blowing.

Militant Action

The guerilla war conducted by the militants continues with unabated vigour. Pillar-boxes in different parts of the country have been tampered with, and the campaign has been extended to the Tower of London, the Archbishop's Palace, and to the golf courses. However much the public may dislike and resent these actions, they are a sign that large numbers of women feel keenly their exclusion from citizenship, and do not intend to let Society rest until their grievances are redressed. We are glad to see that the strong protest made last week in our columns by Mr. Nevinson against the treatment meted out by the police to Mrs. Drummond has drawn the attention of the *Manchester Guardian* to the facts, and that that paper is demanding an inquiry.

"No Work Fitted For Women"

It is a strange proof of an extraordinary misconception that the British Red Cross Society, entrusted with the financial resources to equip a trained medical and nursing staff, should have decided that there was "no work fitted for women" in the Balkans. Mrs. St. Clair Stobart has demonstrated that there are "women fitted for the work." Everybody with authority to speak now admits freely that the women were right and the men were wrong. Had this brave, practical woman not insisted on breaking down the barrier of red tape raised against her, had not she and her convoy privately raised the necessary funds, overcoming well-nigh insuperable difficulties unnecessarily placed in her path, British women alone amongst the great nations of Europe would have been unrepresented at the scene of action, British prestige would have suffered loss, and the soldiers of the allied armies fighting for their liberty would have lacked the assistanse which proved invaluable to them.

Items of Interest

Mrs. Despard was released from prison on January 30, her fine having been paid by an unknown person.

The Irish Woman Suffrage prisoners have been refused first-class treatment in prison, and have adopted the hunger strike.

An Equal Suffrage amendment to the Constitution has passed the legislatures of New York State and the State of Nevada. In each case it will have to be ratified by a referendum of the electors before it becomes law.

A combined meeting of protest against the worthlessness of the Government's new pledge, organised by the Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies, was being held on Wednesday night, as we went to press, in the Queen's Hall. A report of the meeting will appear in our next issue.

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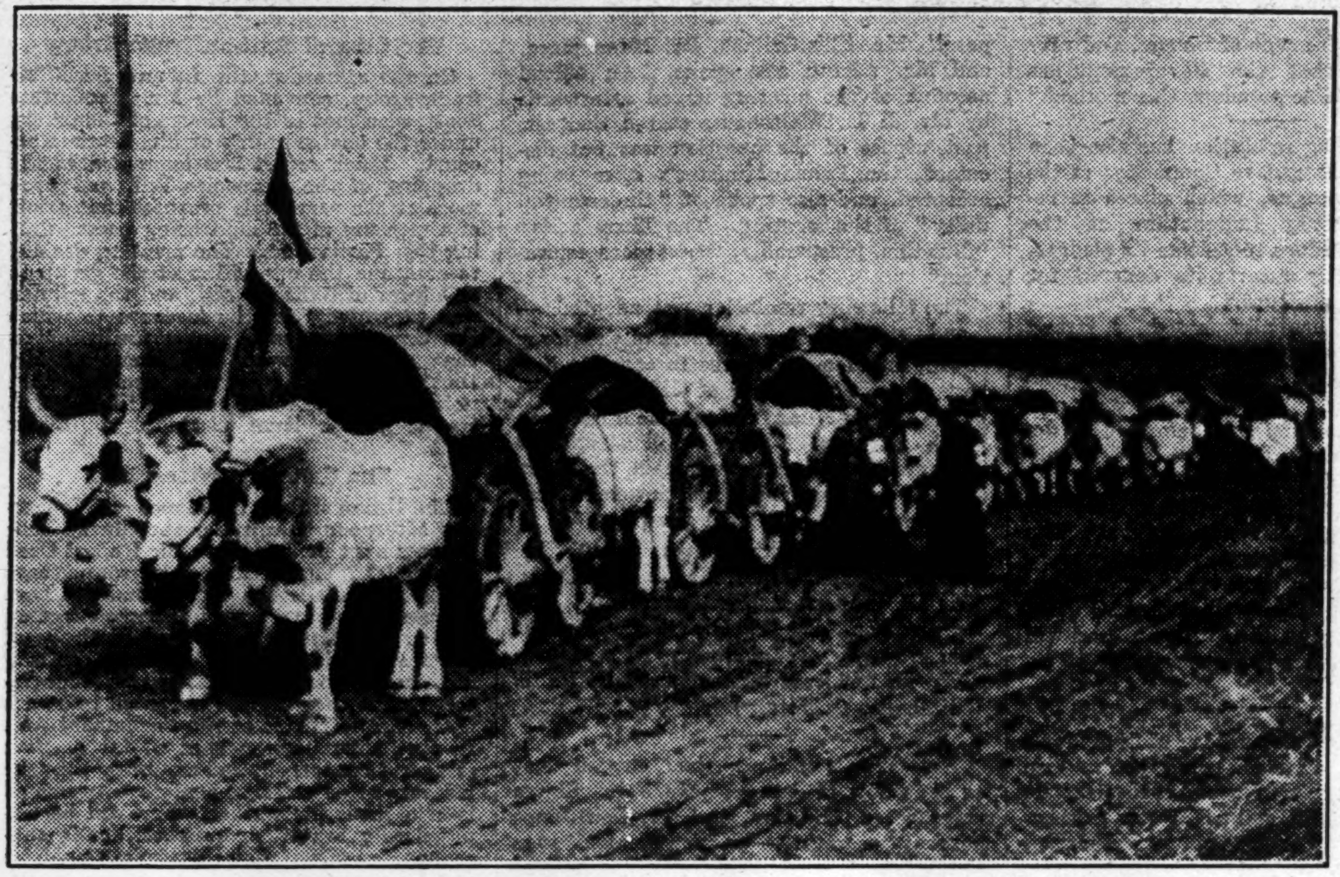
WOMEN AND WAR

By M. A. Stobart (Mrs. St. Clair Stobart), Commandant-in-Chief, Women's Convoy Corps



Some men are capable of taking a share in national defence, and it is therefore assumed that men in general are worthy of Imperial responsibilities and of having a voice in national affairs. Are some women also capable of taking a share in national defence—without being a nuisance or a burden on men? This was the question I set myself to answer when, four years ago, I founded the Women's Convoy Corps. For I have always felt that unless woman can be of service in spheres of work that are national and imperial she is not worthy of a place in national and imperial parliaments. So long as her interests and sympathies are confined to the home and parish, so long must her influence remain solely domestic and parochial. A woman has always been ready, as everybody knows, to sacrifice herself for her home, her husband, and her child, but until she is equally ready, or is permitted, to sacrifice her home, her husband, and her child for her country she will never be on an equal footing with man.

If it is right for the man that he should consider the welfare of his country before the welfare of his family, why should the same high moral not apply equally in the case of woman? If it is the sacrifice which for the man constitutes the virtue and the heroism, why should not the greater sacrifice entailed upon the woman who leaves home and family for work in hospitals of war constitute an even greater virtue and heroism? For when all is said and done, the result to the home and family is probably more disastrous if the man is killed than if the woman dies. For whereas the death, upon the battlefield, of the man—the breadwinner—may entail the destitution of the family, the death of the wife and mother in a fever hospital would cause to the family at home chiefly sorrow and inconvenience. In any case, it is left to a man's own conscience to decide between his country and his family, and could not a similar decision be left with equal safety to the consciences of women?

To me it seems then obviously right that some women should offer their services in time of war. But are they *capable* of giving service that is of value without the assistance of male hewers of wood and drawers of water? That was the question at issue between myself and the British Red Cross Society, when, at the outbreak of the Balkan War, I offered the services of trained members of the Women's Convoy Corps to help the sick and wounded in the Balkans. The British Red Cross Society announced that they were sending out no women with their men's units, as there was "no work fitted for women" in the Balkans. I considered that this was synonymous with saying that there were "no women fitted for the work," and I knew better. So I determined to go out and see for myself whether there was indeed no service which trained and disciplined women could render to a people whose nursing and surgical resources must in such an emergency be severely strained.

I went to Bulgaria, where I imagined that the brunt of the fighting would take place, and everywhere I found, as I had expected, that the work of trained women was sorely needed. I offered the services of the Corps, and these were gratefully accepted by the Queen, by the Croix Rouge, and by the head of the Medical Military Department. The latter requested me to cable at once for my colleagues to come out and improvise a hospital at Kirk Kilisse, then about to become the headquarters of the Bulgarian Army. The story of our adventures on the journey and of our work when we arrived need not here be repeated. It is only of importance to mention that the work of this hastily improvised hospital was in every department—nursing, surgical, culinary, and administrative—conducted by women, and that during the two months that we were at work we treated 729 cases—many of them of a ghastly and serious nature—with only one fatality. And all this, of course, under conditions of sanitation, food, language, &c., of more than ordinary difficulty.

It must not, however, be thought that there was anything wonderful in what we did—the only wonder is that it could possibly in this twentieth century be thought wonderful for women to do work which was so obviously women's work. For until the time shall come when man shall no longer think war heroic, surely all work connected with the care of the sick and wounded and with hospital administration, should be in the hands of women—whatever may be the conditions of the campaign? And the Women's Convoy Corps have perhaps served a useful purpose, for by the success of their work and by the spirit with which they endured hardships and privations and tackled difficulties which women are not generally called upon to face, they have, I hope, helped to establish the fact that, though untrained and undisciplined women are not wanted—anywhere—trained and disciplined women *are*, without being a burden on men, capable of rendering national, even international, service in time of war.

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It will interest our readers to know that the Corps of whom Mrs. St. Clair Stobart speaks in her article consisted of sixteen women, including, besides herself, three medical women, Drs. Hutchison, Ramsbotham, and Tudor; two Sisters, Miss V. Adams and Miss P. Gadsden; four other trained nurses, and six members for general duty as dressers, nurses, cooks, &c. On their arrival at Sofia, where Mrs. Stobart met them, the Queen of Bulgaria gave them an audience and sent them on their way the following morning, to Jamboli, with a case of provisions for their long train journey. At Jamboli they hoped to be able to take in a stock of provisions for their seven days' trek to Kirk Kilisse, but a raid upon the shops produced only a few sour brown loaves, two boxes of sardines, and a couple of hundred eggs. They trusted to finding food in the villages on the way, and succeeded in securing forty ox carts, twenty-eight for their equipment, and twelve for themselves. Then, two people in each wagon, they started on their march across the plains of Thrace and the mountains of Rhodope, with an escort of two policemen and two soldiers who marched alongside with fixed bayonets, making it their business to keep the drivers in order. Mrs. Stobart gives a delightful description of this journey in her account of the whole expedition which appears in the February issue of *The Contemporary Review*.

At Kirk Kilisse they presented themselves at the headquarters of the Commandant to receive their orders, and were told to select from the deserted Turkish houses any buildings they could convert into a hospital. They chose three together in a narrow street, with a fourth for the staff; and within thirty hours "the Women's Convoy Corps hospital was a going concern": lines of bullock wagons from the battle fields of Chatalja and Lule Burgas were at the doors, and from these the terribly wounded soldiers were lifted out and transferred to the beds in the hospital till these gave out, after which the patients were placed on sack mattresses in the halls, corridors, and outhouses. The Corps stayed there seven weeks, until, in fact, they decided that there was no longer any work to do with which the local authorities could not deal. Besides the fourteen wards with their eighty-four beds, there was also an out-patients' dispensary. "Shrapnel, grenade, Mauser, and Mannlicher bullets, each told its graphic tale, the Turkish Mauser being the most merciful in its effects. But the men bore the bullets no grudge, and as these were extracted invariably held out their hands for the prized memento."

Of the two photographs that we are kindly permitted to reproduce as illustrations, one shows the Women's Convoy Corps on its long trek from Jamboli to Kirk Kilisse; and the other shows a group of doctors, nurses, patients, cooking staff, &c., in front of the improvised hospital at Kirk Kilisse.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEW PLEDGE

What Is It Worth?—Increasing Dissatisfaction Among Suffragists

Almost universal condemnation has now been poured upon the Prime Minister's new pledge to Woman Suffragists. If we except the Liberal Party Press and the Party organizations, we can truly say that no support has been found for it. The Labour Party, at its annual Conference on January 31, deplored its inadequacy by an overwhelming majority. Every Suffrage Society of any standing has now repudiated the new offer, and demands a Government measure in its stead; the Women's Co-operative Guild has done the same. The greatest interest continues to be shown in the Press all over the country with regard to the exraordinary situation created by the Speaker's ruling and the failure of the Government to placate the women they have tricked. Outbursts of militancy, with which we deal on page 274, continue to occur daily, and numberless indignation meetings are being held by Suffragists, both militant and non-militant. After we go to press the first meeting of the new Federated Council of Woman Suffrage Societies will be held in the Queen's Hall, to protest against the Government's treatment of the whole question, and to demand a Government measure; and on Thursday, February 6, a meeting of the Conservative and Unionist Franchise Association at the Horticultural Hall, presided over by Lady Castlereagh, at which Lord Selborne will speak.

In the House of Commons the preliminary steps have been taken towards the course of action to be adopted by Suffragist M.P.'s in the coming session. Liberal Suffragist M.P.'s were first in the field on Thursday, January 30, when they met and elected a committee, the first meeting of which took place on Tuesday, February 4. On Tuesday also a meeting of the Liberal Anti-Suffragists was held in the House, and on Wednesday another was held of Conservative Suffragist M.P.'s. Some account of these conferences, and also of the meeting between the Executive of the Women's Liberal Federation and the Liberal Suffragists on January 30, will be found on this page. No steps have been taken towards the formation of the "Cabinette" proposed by Mr. F. E. Smith during the debate in the House last Monday week. The Liberal Suffragists, says the *Times*, "will discuss matters informally with Unionist Suffragists, but their present intention is to act in the matter as Liberals."

The London Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* confirms this statement, and adds that he is of opinion that the Conservative Suffragists in the House will support the Bill, but will not assist in drafting it; he believes that any revival of a composite body like the Conciliation Committee is regarded as unlikely.

DEMAND FOR GOVERNMENT MEASURE

Since our last week's issue all the remaining Suffrage Societies of any importance have joined in the demand for a Government measure for Woman Suffrage in lieu of the Private Bill foreshadowed by the Prime Minister on Monday, January 27.

The Irishwomen's Reform League have passed a resolution stating their "opinion that the Government have been guilty of most culpable negligence in failing to ensure the legitimacy of the women's amendments to the Reform Bill, and that Mr. Asquith's pledges to suffragists can only be honourably redeemed by the introduction of a Government measure for the enfranchisement of women." They therefore "demand a Government Measure, and will not accept or support any Private Member's Bill."

The Women's Tax Resistance League, at its third annual meeting on January 30, carried unanimously the following resolution:—

"That this meeting indignantly refuses to accept the Prime Minister's offer of facilities for a Private Member's Bill for Woman's Suffrage next session. It further demands that the Government itself be responsible for such measure this session, and calls upon women to resist taxation by every means in their power as a protest against this continued denial of justice."

The Executive Committee of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association met on January 31, and resolved "That this committee feels that a Government measure is the most satisfactory method of dealing with the question of the enfranchisement of women, and very much regrets that the Government has found it impossible to adopt this method."

A good fighting resolution has also been passed by the Executive Committee of the Free Church League, which places on record "its strong indignation at the Government's failure to redeem its pledges, and emphatically asserts its demand for a Government measure."

The League has also issued a strong manifesto, in which, after repudiating the new Government offer, it says: "The women have now learnt their lesson and made up their minds. Henceforth they demand a Government measure, and if only they will stand shoulder to shoulder, the Government must yield. The women will now be satisfied with nothing less. The flag which they hoped they were carrying to speedy victory has once again been wrenched from their tired hands. But they have already raised it again, and will never rest till they have carried it to its goal."

The Executive Committee of the Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage has also passed a resolution, placing on record "its indignation at the failure of the Government to redeem its pledge in connection with the women's amendments to the Franchise Bill," and demanding the introduction into the House of Commons forthwith of a Government Bill to enfranchise women on equal terms with men.

On behalf of the New Constitutional Society Mrs. Cecil Chapman has issued a statement expressing its "profound indignation" at the "bitter deception" practised on the Woman Suffragists, and announcing that it "will do its utmost to oppose in every way a Government which has brought lasting discredit upon itself and upon the Liberal party by failing to keep its word, and it reaffirms the demand for a Government measure, by which alone the great subject of woman's enfranchisement can be adequately and fairly dealt with, and without which no measure of equal magnitude has ever been put upon the Statute-book."

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Actresses' Franchise League, it was resolved to express "the deep indignation of its members at the position in which their cause was placed owing to the action and inaction of the Government." They further rejected the Government offer of "a private member's Bill, with special facilities next session," which would lose the protection of the Parliament Act, and reaffirmed their demand for a Government measure.

THE WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD

A statement has been unanimously agreed to by the Central Committee of the Women's Co-operative Guild declaring that "the offer of a Private Member's Bill with special facilities is not an adequate fulfilment of the Prime Minister's pledge, which can now only be fully redeemed by a Government measure. This, we continue to maintain, should be an Adult Suffrage Bill." The statement concludes by saying that nothing "can restore the lost confidence of women except a Government measure."

SUFFRAGE MEETINGS IN THE HOUSE

The Liberal Suffragist M.P.'s

In the House of Commons on Thursday, January 30, a preliminary meeting, to discuss the steps to be taken next Session in view of the new pledge, was convened by Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Whitehouse, who sent out a circular summoning all Liberal Suffragist M.P.'s who had been supporters of the Grey amendment. These numbered 180; between fifty and sixty responded. Neither Sir Edward Grey nor Mr. Lloyd George was present; the following members of the Government visited the meeting while it was in progress—Sir Rufus Isaacs, Sir J. Simon, Mr. Gulland, Mr. Ellis Griffith, Mr. Acland, Dr. Macnamara, and Mr. Trevelyan. Later, these were joined by representative members of the Women's Liberal Federation.

Sir Rufus Isaacs made the suggestion that some endeavour should be made to get an agreement between the various sections of Suffragists before drawing up a Bill; Sir John Simon supported a Bill on the basis of the Dickinson amendment, Lady Carlisle being of his opinion, while Mrs. Eva McLaren inclined to the Conciliation proposal. Mr. Ellis Griffith, Dr. Macnamara, and Mr. Acland also spoke. An official account of the meeting issued afterwards by Mr. J. H. Whitehouse stated that the past aspect of the question was not discussed, the Prime Minister's offer being accepted, and also spoke of "the essential unity" of the meeting. The *Times* adds: "But this, presumably, was a pious aspiration."

The following resolution was adopted:—

That the following members of the group be appointed a committee to consider how best to take advantage of the offer of the Prime Miniser, and as to the lines upon which the new Suffrage Bill should be drawn, with power to ascertain the views of other parties, and that the committee do report thereon to this group:—

Mr. W. H. Dickinson (chairman), Mr. Acland, Mr. Leif Jones, Mr. C. H. Roberts, Mr. H. McLaren, Sir A. Mond,, Mr. Walter Rea, Sir C. Nicholson, Mr. A. Ponsonby, Sir John Simon, Dr. Macnamara, Mr. Chiozza Money, and Mr. J. H. Whitehouse (secretary).

The Sub-Committee thus elected met on Tuesday afternoon. Sir John Simon was elected chairman, and Mr. Leif Jones honorary secretary—"which means," says the *Morning Post*, "that this, the largest of the Suffrage sections, intends to press forward the Dickinson proposal."

The Liberal Anti-Suffrage Group

On the same day the Liberal Anti-Suffrage group, convened by Mr. MacCallum Scott, also met in the House of Commons, under the chairmanship of Mr. Lewis Harcourt. Much regret was expressed at the dropping of the Franchise Bill, and even more at the very little prospect that exists of a measure of the kind being passed during this Parliament. The meeting decided to continue the opposition of the group to any form of Suffrage Bill, and the opinion was expressed that the measure to which the Government will give "facilities" is that associated with the name of Mr. Dickinson. But it was decided that nothing definite could be done till the Suffragist groups have produced a Bill or Bills.

The Unionist Suffragists

The Unionist Suffragists met on Wednesday afternoon to consider the Government proposals for next session. Sir Robert Cecil presided. "The views of this group," says the *Standard's* Lobby Correspondent, "are calculated to have a very decisive effect on the course of events, as while desirous of promoting the cause of women's enfranchisement, it may be stated, without reserve, that they are not prepared to secure their end by means of the Parliament Act. It may thus happen that so far as next session is concerned, and assuming that the measure of enfranchisement to be proposed is of a moderate nature, they will be disposed to give it their support, but in subsequent sessions their attitude would be transferred into one of hostility if an attempt were made to carry through the proposals under the Parliament Act."

THE LIBERAL WOMEN

No council meeting has been summoned by the Women's Liberal Federation to deal with the new Suffrage situation, and it is stated that one will not be convened until next session. Meanwhile, the Executive Committee of the Federation have met and passed a resolution, proposed by the Countess of Carlisle and seconded by Mrs. Eva McLaren, recording their "profound disappointment that owing to the Speaker's ruling they have lost the opportunity, first promised to them and to the Liberal Suffragist Members of Parliament by the Prime Minister in May, 1908, of incorporating a Women's Suffrage Amendment into the Reform Bill." The resolution proceeds:—

"They learn with keen regret that the only method now available for obtaining Women's Suffrage in this Parliament is a Private Member's Bill, and that the Prime Minister has found it impossible under altered circumstances to undertake full Government responsibility for such a Bill when it reaches its third reading; yet only by so doing could he have entirely redeemed the spirit of his reiterated pledge."

The resolution concludes by saying:—

"The foregoing facilities having been guaranteed by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Government, the Liberal women are resolved to make full use of the Parliamentary opportunities that are open to them, and will concentrate their energies on obtaining an early victory in the House of Commons. The Executive believe that they can render no better service to Liberalism than by helping, by every legitimate means, to remove the reproach that lies at the door of the Liberal Party as long as the vote is denied to women. There can be no real peace or concord in the Liberal ranks until the Women's Suffrage question is settled righteously."

British Women's Temperance Association

Lady Carlisle was also the proposer of a resolution passed by the Committee of the National British Women's Temperance Association, on January 30, in which, after deploring the Speaker's ruling, the Committee state their belief "that if the 162,000 members in their association strive zealously to secure support for this suffrage measure when it comes before Parliament in April, a decisive victory can be assured."

A LIBERAL WOMAN REBEL

The following letter from a Liberal woman appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* on Wednesday, February 5:—

To the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*.

Sir,—I am well aware that I am an obscure person and that I live in an obscure place, but on the principle that "a feather shows which way the wind blows" I should like to state that the prevention in practice which the Liberal Party persists in with regard to any extension of the franchise to women has convinced me that I cannot conscientiously or logically any longer adhere to the Liberal Party. I have accordingly, with much regret, resigned my membership in the Women's Liberal Association, which I was instrumental in forming nearly twenty years ago, and of which I have lately been local president, and my membership both on the Executive Committee of the North Lonsdale Liberal Association and on the Executive Committee of the North Lonsdale Central Committee of W.L.A.'s.

Women's suffrage has splendid friends among the Liberal members in the House of Commons, but by the Liberal Party we have been disappointed again and again. Until we can have a Government Bill we are not likely to win that measure of justice which the progress of civilisation has long called for, and which we believe to be essential for the social and moral improvement of our country.

Might it not be a help to our Liberal friends in the House who so staunchly champion our cause if Liberal women would take united action and throw off for a time the shackles of party and be simply law-abiding Suffragists? The Women's Liberal Federation has been going on step by step, but it has not yet done this. In the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies there are members of all parties, but party differences are sunk for the time in the one supreme common object. Many of the workers in that Union declare that until the vote is won they have no party, and that I think is the right attitude.—Yours, &c.,

ELIZABETH J. SATTERTHWAITE.

A LIBERAL WOMAN'S SPEECH FROM THE DOCK

Mrs. Cobden Hirst, when sentenced at Bow Street last week to one month's imprisonment for breaking windows at the Home Office, made the following speech in Court:—

"Till recently I have always belonged to the Liberal Party—a Party which professes to believe as one of its first principles in "No taxation without representation." I once thought they believed what they said. Now, under this Liberal Government, there has been a Bill passed to give all Members of Parliament £400 a year as salary. Women are called upon as well as men to pay these salaries, yet women are not allowed to choose the representatives who go to the House of Commons to govern them. I did what I did as a protest against this shameful political injustice to women. And I chose to smash the Home Office windows especially as a further protest against the disgraceful way in which women political prisoners have been treated under a Liberal Government."

THE LABOUR CONFERENCE

Both on the first and second days of the Labour Conference, which met on January 29-31 in the Lambeth Baths, the Woman Suffrage question was prominent. On the opening day, during the presidential address, there were many interruptions from women spectators in the gallery, and from one who was a delegate in the body of the hall. It appears that the interrupters were members of the Working Women's Deputation who interviewed Mr. Lloyd George last week, and that they attended the Conference in order to put their grievance before it, their request to address the delegates from the platform having been previously refused. When Mr. George H. Roberts, M.P., pointed out that Labour bodies were in favour of the full enfranchisement of all men and women, a woman in the gallery called out, "Are you in favour of turning the Liberals out unless they give women the vote?" Some uproar ensued, during which she was led out. Another woman, who also wanted to know what the Labour Party was going to do in the matter was similarly ejected.

After the luncheon interval another interruption occurred during the election of tellers, when a woman, said to be a delegate from the Potteries, rose and, amid considerable disorder, said she wished to propose an urgency resolution condemning the Government for its treatment of the Suffrage question.

"Are you a delegate, madam?" asked a steward, anxiously.

"I am better than a delegate," she answered proudly; "I am a woman who wants the vote!"

Amid cries of "Put her out!" "Sit down!" and "Order!" she continued her speech. "We women have worked for the Labour cause," she said; "we have given you our money; we have stood by you in your strikes—what are you going to do for us? We must and will have the vote!" She was eventually removed by the stewards, protesting indignantly.

A little later a woman visitor in the gallery again demanded that the Labour party should turn out the Government that had tricked the women. "You have betrayed the women who work for you!" she exclaimed, as, amid taunts and jeers, she was taken out. Two subsequent interrupters, one of whom threw pointed interjections into the speech that was going on down below, were also removed from the gallery, not without considerable roughness. To the suggestion of a delegate, that the gallery should be cleared altogether, Mr. J. Cavanagh, of the Builders' Labourers' Association, protested—"That's worthy of Asquith. That's not worthy of Labour."

The Suffrage Debate

On the second day of the Conference, January 30, Mr. H. J. Rolf proposed the following resolution:—

"That this Conference reaffirms its previous decisions regarding the enfranchisement of women, deplores the position created by the ruling of the Speaker, considers that the pledge of the Prime Minister can only be adequately and safely redeemed by the Government providing facilities during the coming session for a free vote of the House of Commons on a woman's measure, and should it obtain a second reading the Government becoming responsible for it through all its subsequent stages. It calls upon the Parliamentary party to do all in its power to expedite the passage of a Bill during the coming session giving votes to women on a broad and democratic basis."

To this Mr. Harry Dubery (I.L.P.) proposed an amendment to add: "It further calls upon the party in Parliament to oppose any Franchise Bill in which women are not included," and it was round this amendment that the most stirring debate of the Conference raged.

Mr. Snowden's Speech

Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P. (Miners) having opposed the amendment, Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., made a strong appeal on its behalf, describing the recent action of the Government as "another mockery to the women." He asked to refer the matter back to the Standing Orders Committee in order that there might be an amendment calling for a Government measure; but this was declared out of order. He therefore spoke to the amendment as it stood, denouncing Mr. Walsh's attitude against it as an attempt "to sneak votes for men at the expense of the agitation carried on by the women," and saying that the women were in an infinitely worse position now than they were a week ago. No man with experience of the House of Commons believed that there was a ghost of a chance of six or eight million women being enfranchised on a private member's Bill. That idea was just another mockery of the women, and they had been tricked long enough.

"In the words of the late Sir Henry Campbell - Bannerman," he continued, "'Enough of this fooling: we will have no more of it.' Down with the Government! Let us say that the whole force of the Labour movement will be on the side of the women in demanding that the Government shall make this a Government measure. That will be the only way in which you will get a solution of this important matter."

A card vote was demanded, and the amendment was carried by 850,000 to 437,000.

Mr. Walsh, M.P., and the Miners

Speaking on Saturday night to his constituents, Mr. Walsh condemned the action of the Labour Conference in carrying the amendment, announced that he was about to seek the opinion of his constituents and of the Miners' Federation on the matter, and in the event of their disapproving of his attitude towards Woman Suffrage (which amounts to an academic support of womanhood suffrage as long as it does not stand in the way of manhood suffrage), he "would not remain another week in Parliament."

Does it Mean a Labour Split?

The Labour Press Agency says: "There are various indications that the Labour Party are now faced with a situation from which escape may only be found through the disruption of the party. The adoption by the Labour Party Conference of a resolution committing the party without qualification to opposition of any franchise measure that does not include women has now strained the relations between the Socialist and moderate section to breaking point. If in the course of the next session of Parliament a Franchise measure of the nature indicated is proposed, it is practically certain that the miners' representatives in the Parliamentary Party, who in the past have refused to adopt the policy now urged on them, will challenge the right of the annual conference to lay down the lines upon which the Parliamentary Party shall act. Such a challenge must inevitably result in a conflict between the two sections.

A Unionist Comment

The other day we had Mr. Henderson making a protest against the gross dishonesty involved in the so-called pledge to the women. . . . But it amounts to nothing, for everybody knows that the Labour Party would not dare to carry the protest further than a speech. We gather from the interruptions at the Labour Conference that the women are not in the least impressed by this sort of sham fight. It would be surprising if they were.—**Morning Post, Jan. 31.**

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE ON THE BILL

In the House of Commons on Thursday, January 30, Mr. King asked the Prime Minister (1) whether the Committee to be set up to draft a Women Suffrage Bill will be nominated by the Committee of Selection or by the House; (2) whether the Committee of this House to be set up to draft a Women Suffrage Bill will be appointed this Session; and (3) whether the Women Suffrage Committee which it is proposed to form will be presided over by the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the Leader of the Opposition; and whether it is intended that during the proceedings next Session on the Women Suffrage Bill the House should be temporarily led by the Chairman of this Committee?

Mr. Lloyd George (for the Prime Minister): The question of the formation and appointment of such a Committee, as that to which my hon. Friend refers, rests entirely with the supporters of the movement for Women Suffrage, and is not a matter for the Government. I am not in a position to give my hon. Friend the information he desires on the other points raised in the question.

Mr. Harry Lawson: Can the right hon. Gentleman say how this Committee will communicate officially with the Government in respect of the allocation of the time of the House and other matters?

Mr. Lloyd George: There is no Committee at the present moment; therefore I could not answer that. I am not certain that I shall be able to answer it when the Committee is appointed.

Sir J. D. Rees: Will the resulting Bill have preference over all others, irrespective of the ballot and of the claims of other Bills?

Mr. Lloyd George: I could not reply to that.

In the House of Commons on Monday, February 3, Mr. Hunt asked whether, when a private member's Bill is introduced next session for giving votes to millions of women, it is the intention of the Government to allow the guillotine to be used for the purpose of passing it, and if it is to be allowed to come under the Parliament Act and to be passed into law before the judgment of the people has been taken on the question of giving votes to women?

The Prime Minister: These questions were fully dealt with on Monday last in the speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Foreign Secretary, and myself. It would be premature now to add anything to what was then stated.

Mr. Hunt: Can the right hon. gentleman not give us "Yes" or "No" to these very straight questions?

The Prime Minister: They deal with a prospective and contingent future.

On Wednesday, February 5, Sir J. D. Rees asked the Prime Minister whether the Woman Suffrage Bill will be given first place next Session regardless of its fate in the ballot, and in preference to other Bills regardless of their claims, including the Bill at the top of the list?

Mr. Asquith said it was the intention of the Government to provide facilities for the Bill out of the time at their disposal It would be premature at present to make any statement as to details of the next Franchise Bill.

◆

IRISH INDIGNATION

A copy of the following letter has been sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, and Sir Edward Grey, by the Irish League for Women's Suffrage. It is signed by the organising secretary of the league:

I am instructed by the executive committee of our League—which represents both Irish women and men in London—to convey to you their strong and emphatic protest at the action of the Government in (1) Failing to carry out their oft-repeated pledge to a large section of His Majesty's subjects; (2) In offering women such a poor and practically worthless substitute as a private member's Bill in place of an amendment to a Government measure.

The League feels strongly that the possible ruling of the Speaker should have been anticipated by the Cabinet—who can be supposed to be experts in Parliamentary procedure if not Cabinet Ministers?—and, failing this, the League urge that as a matter of honour and fair play the Government should have at once overruled the Speaker's ruling. Not having done so, the only honourable course open to them is to introduce this session a Government measure giving votes to women. Nothing else will satisfy the women, and the League submits that if such Bill be not introduced the Cabinet, individually and collectively, must and will be responsible for such deeds of lawlessness as Suffragists may feel compelled to have recourse to in advancement of their claims of citizenship. Lawlessness has brought Home Rule to the threshold of Ireland—we ask you, sir, if lawlessness and torture are to be the only arguments which will influence a Liberal Government to give citizen rights to women?

IN THE PRESS

LABOUR OPINIONS

The incidents in connection with the withdrawal of the Franchise Bill have made an assembly which professes to be a democratic institution the laughing-stock of the country. . . . The Prime Minister's reputation has been seriously damaged by his conduct of this crisis and by the proposal he has made for the further treatment of this question of woman suffrage. . . . The Liberals will make women suffrage a Government measure when they are made to do it; and they shall be made to do it or they will have to go. —**Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., in "The Christian Commonwealth."**

The public would be on the side of the unemployed if workless men showed half the fighting spirit voteless women have shown.—**Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P., in the "Clarion."**

The proposed Joint Committee cr "Cabinette" will be sitting on a Corpse. We ask for a Bill. They offer us a Coroner's Jury.—**Daily Herald, Jan. 31.**

Parties being divided as they are—the Speaker being what he is—members holding their promises as lightly as they do—there is only one way in which the Government can fulfil its solemnly undertaken obligations in this matter, and that is by bringing in a measure of its own. Otherwise they are, in effect, declaring war against the Women, and must be made to take the consequences of that. . . . The Women have got this Government of trimmers and dodgers on the run, and must keep them at it until they surrender or go to pieces.—**Daily Herald, Feb. 3.**

THE WEEKLY PRESS

We fear that the House of Commons is committing itself once more to a policy in regard to Woman Suffrage that will almost certainly end as unsatisfactorily as similar policies have always ended before. . . . Once more women are being encouraged to build their hopes on a foundation of sand. When the partly built house and all the scaffolding comes down with a run the women will feel, as they have so often felt before, that they have been fooled. We are bound to say that they will have some reason. . . . The very attempt to allow the Private Member's Bill to enjoy the privileges of the Parliament Act would cause the majority of Unionist Suffragists to vote against the measure.—**The Spectator.**

We may, we hope, take it for granted that the Government and the Liberal party realise how closely the dramatic change which has come over the prospects of Woman Suffrage affects their honour and their fortunes. So far as the Prime Minister is concerned, we can well understand that it must have brought him near to the point of resignation. A Minister who contracts a public obligation and finds himself unable to redeem it has, as a rule, only one of two courses open to him. He must obtain a free release from his creditor, or he must himself relinquish office. The first of these resources has not been open to Mr. Asquith, and he has not adopted the second. . . . It is no answer to those who demand its fulfilment to say that the pledge had better not have been given, or that the head of a great political organisation cannot consider one interest alone. Such jesuitry would destroy the people's faith in statesmanship. In public as in private life, faith must be kept with all suitors, however distasteful their claims may be.—**The Nation.**

The partisans of female suffrage have just cause to feel aggrieved at the manner in which their hopes have once more been disappointed. . . . The circumstances attending the repulse of the suffragist attack are generally spoken of as if they chiefly concerned the feminist movement, and to a minor degree the prestige of the Government. More than either, the well-being of the nation is prejudiced by the slipshod, half-hearted treatment which the question has received since it was boomed into public notice a few years ago. —**Outlook, Feb. 1.**

On one thing we are resolved. We shall not rest until a united Government will apply to this nerveless House the party discipline which it expects, and apply it to secure the enfranchisement of women. We find ample encouragement for this great adventure in the events of this week. A Government has been shaken and irreparably damaged in its prestige. It has lost one of its principal Bills. The "torpedo" of Manhood Suffrage looks very like a boomerang.—**Common Cause.**

THE UNIONIST VIEW

There is already more than sufficient evidence to show that the Prime Minister's new way of dealing with the question cf Women Suffrage has only brought new trouble on the Cabinet and fresh perils to the public. . . . The only people who have seen clearly from the beginning have been the women themselves. —**Globe, Jan. 31.**

What that offer means is now fully realised by all parties. It is, as we have said, either an insult to the King and the country or an insult to the women; and therefore only another way of tricking the women.—**Globe, Feb. 1.**

THE LIBERAL WHITEWASHER

We see nothing better than to go on. The course proposed can alone secure something like a free vote, without which no Suffragist Bill can win. If after helping us to pass the Bill this year, Unionist suffragists decline to pass it next year for Parliament Act purposes, and insist on waiting for the General Election before sending it a second time to the Lords, we shall have to submit. The suffrage cannot be carried without Unionist support; and suffragists cannot expect Unionists, or Liberals either, to give their support on any terms inconsistent with honourable adherence to their regular party principles and pledges. Impatience on their part is natural, but to try short cuts can only lengthen their journey. Least of all is there ground for imputing ill-faith to the Government.—**Daily Chronicle, Feb. 3.**

They [Liberal Suffragist M.P.'s] are convinced that Liberalism will suffer all along the line unless the Gordian knot of Women's Suffrage be cut by a courageous legislative stroke.—**P. W. W., in the "Daily News," Jan. 30.**

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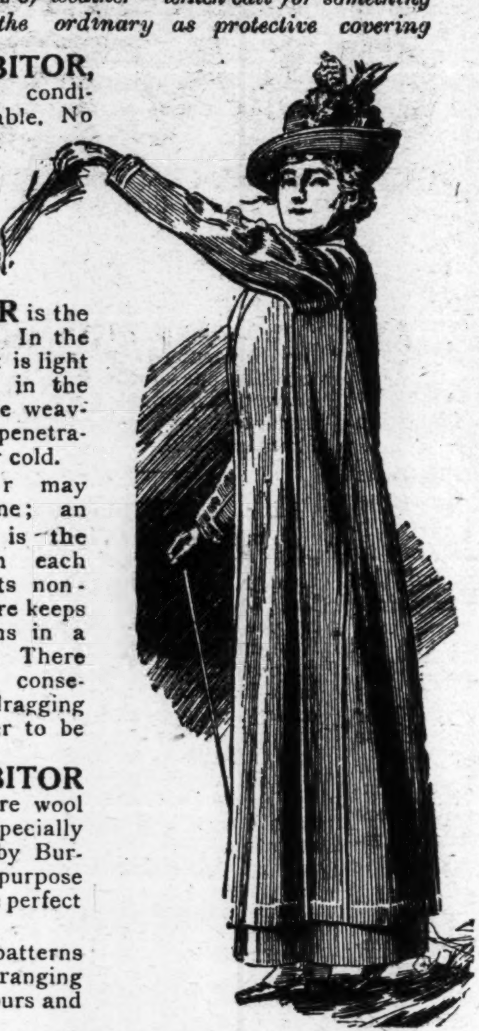

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"THE WOMAN ALONE"

By Constance E. Maud

At the Gymnase in Paris, Brieux' latest play, "La Femme Seule," is creating an enormous amount of interest, and is played to a crowded house every evening. Like his former play, "Les Trois Filles de M. Dupont," it shows this author to be a redoubtable champion of the woman's cause. No stronger case for the woman courageously endeavouring to earn her own living in an honest way, yet handicapped and baffled at every turn, has ever been put before the public. Yet this is no exceptional or extreme case, but one out of a thousand such going on around us, and exciting no comment save a shrug of the shoulders, or perhaps a sigh, from the men and women who would gladly see better conditions, but confess themselves powerless to make them.

The part of the young heroine, played by Mlle. Jeanne Provost, is an exquisitely artistic performance. Whether she is gay or grave, tender, scornful or despairing, there is a nobility and sincerity about her acting which convinces.

The story is that of a young girl, left an orphan at eighteen, and adopted by godparents of the rich bourgeois class, who, being childless, settle a good dowry on her for her marriage, an event shortly to take place as the play opens, when we find her at the age of twenty-three engaged to a young man, approved by her family as well as herself.

In the intervals of a gay performance of private theatricals, we learn that the godparents have been reduced suddenly to poverty by the dishonesty of their lawyer. To the despair of the two young people, the engagement is broken off by the rich parents of the young man, who is dependent upon the latter; and the girl, refusing to be a burden on her godparents, resolves to earn her own living.

This is a step far more unusual in France than in England, and mainly for two reasons. In the first place French people generally arrange their families in proportion to their income, and do not bring into the world a swarm of children for whom they cannot possibly provide in a decent and fair way. In the second place, the French regard the future of their daughters as of equal importance with that of their sons, and provide for them accordingly by putting aside a sum of money for a dowry, to be made over to the girl on her marriage, or, should she choose to enter a convent, on her taking the veil.

It is therefore comparatively rare that a girl of the bourgeois or the upper classes finds herself obliged to enter the arena and fight for her bread together with those of the classes born to work, the tens of thousands, even millions, who in the nature of things can have no *dot* provided for them, and have often not only themselves, but a sick parent or younger brothers and sisters to provide for.

The battle of life is hard enough for the average man, though backed with the help of his trades unions, his good, strong muscles, and above all, his weapon, the Vote; but as for the woman, "standing alone," M. Brieux shows with relentless truth that the handicap of sex confronts her pitilessly at every door on which she knocks seeking employment. Man stands there, barring her way, and this, even when she seeks work only among women, doing work essentially for women.

In the office of a woman's newspaper, where the girl at last finds employment, the husband of the editor makes her life impossible, obliging her either to become his mistress or to leave. At the workrooms of a kindly cloth merchant, where, after many vicissitudes, she finds a haven of refuge in honest labour, she and all the other women employed are driven forth by a strike among the men, who refuse to allow their employer to give work to any female rivals, as they regard them. There is but one legitimate way, M. Brieux cynically points out, for the "femme seule" to earn her living, and that is the one in which she finds no opposition from man since she is ministering to his pleasure and in no way competing in the overcrowded labour market. M. Brieux' heroine is of fine stuff, a proud, generous, noble nature, capable of the highest self-sacrifice. She refuses to injure her lover's prospects by marrying him without his parents' consent, in spite of the fact that, inspired by her, he makes himself a position presently where he is independent of their help. In the end circumstances prove too strong for her, and M. Brieux' "femme seule," with every other way closed to her, takes the only one left open.

And if these things are true in the "green country" of France, where the position of women is, and always has been, incomparably better than that of Englishwomen—for the Frenchwoman may be a judge or a taxi-driver, and marriage is regarded as a partnership—think only what must be true in the "dry country," where most girls have no *dots*, where a mother is not legally a parent, and where Mr. Lloyd George's fine new Insurance Act provides that the maternity benefit for the pain and peril of child-bearing shall be handed over to the husband.

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Our appreciation and congratulations are due to two of the members of the Fellowship who have this week, each in her own way, broken the record in valuable service.

Miss Boulting has sold during the week no less than thirteen dozen copies of the paper with her own hands. Miss Harris has secured thirty additional members of the Fellowship. Neither of these striking successes have been obtained without real hard work and unflagging effort.

The Editors of the paper, and the contributors who generously give their valued service, deeply appreciate this co-operation on the part of the readers and members of the Fellowship with them in their work.

We all rejoice in the new foundations which are being laid for building up the Woman's Movement. Where thousands are at work, and each one fulfilling her own task with single-hearted zeal, no power of ignorance and darkness can long resist the pressure of the forces of progress.

There is plenty of work to be done to introduce the paper to new readers and to secure the display of the poster by newsagents and at railway bookstalls. Among the uses to which it is proposed to apply the Fellowship Fund is to send the paper to the offices of certain important newspapers in America and Australia, so that the true meaning of the movement may be understood in those countries. Special contributions for this purpose are invited.

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"THE MAN'S SHARE."

—BY—

F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

(The speech delivered by him from the dock of the Old Bailey, May, 1912 together with a biographical note.)

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THE NORFOLK PEASANTS' RISING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY[*]

"We desire Liberty and an equal use of all things. This will we have. Otherwise these tumults and our lives shall only be ended together."—"The Rebel's Complaint."

The language of rebellion is eternally the same; for all rebellions are one. Those words from the "complaint" of the Norfolk rebels in 1549 might serve as a manifesto for any body of Freedom's soldiers. Such words have in them the dignity and recklessness of true justice, and the dull fact that the Norfolk rising failed is external and irrelevant.

In reading old histories one always wonders if the heart of man has changed or ever will change. To-day in the Highlands of Scotland, wandering through what seems a lovely desert, you will pass ruin after ruin. These bits of low wall and heaps of loose stones are not the ruins of castles, but of the homes of simple men who have been driven from their loch-sides and glens to leave space for the easy slaughter of deer. It was the same trouble that roused the peasantry of sixteenth century England. The avarice and wrong-headedness of the landlords, who found that more money could be made out of cattle and sheep than out of human beings, changed the whole character of English country life. The tenant and his family were of less use than a flock of sheep, therefore they had to go and leave room for the more profitable animal. Mr. Clayton, in his very interesting study of the Norfolk rising, quotes Sir Thomas More:—

"They turn all dwelling-places and all glebe land into desolation and wilderness. Therefore, that one insatiable cormorant may compass about and enclose many thousand acres . . the husbandmen be thrust out of their own . . . by one means or another they must needs depart away . . . out of their known and accustomed homes, finding no place to rest in."

Those displaced and hunted people, homeless and starving, were the occasion for the passing of vagrancy laws of a brutality even more simple and direct than those of to-day. Unemployment was to be put down by force; but force failed as it is bound to in such cases, and the peasants, instead of being cowed, took to open revolt.

The Norfolk rising began first spasmodically among the peasants themselves, whose healthy anger expressed itself by the breaking up of enclosures, the tearing down of palings, and other attempts to proclaim their right to the land. It was some little time before Robert Kett, himself a landlord, came forward and by his leadership lent coherence to the discontent. The story of his brave struggle must be read in Mr. Clayton's pages. There are all the usual elements with most of which Suffragists are not unfamiliar. There are the grieved authorities anxious to conciliate, and in their inability to understand the rebel's mind offering palliatives and concessions, the rejection of which grieves them still more. There is the utter failure of the comfortable citizen to respond to the appeal of those who are in arms against authority. But besides all that there was the fact that the countrymen as a whole were not ready and prepared to rise, and that one general, however brave, could hardly accomplish the whole work. So it all ended in what the world calls failure. Robert and William Kett were hanged, the lot of the peasants seemed to grow worse, the landlords went on enclosing the land. But still all was not loss, a milestone had been fixed in the road to Liberty, and the Norfolk peasants' rising will never be forgotten.

Mr. Clayton needs no introduction to any worker for Votes for Women, and his book should be eagerly read by all those who, like himself, love fair-dealing and hate oppression in whatever department of life they may be found.

(Other Book Reviews will be found on page 276.)

◆

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Value and Destiny of the Individual." By Bernard Bosanquet, LL.D., D.C.L. (London: Macmillan. Price 10s. net.)

"Hilary's Career." By Parry Truscott. (London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. Price 6s.)

"Veiled Women." By Marmaduke Pickthall. (London: Eveleigh Nash. Price 6s.)

"Lady of the Night." By Benjamin Swift. (London: Eveleigh Nash. Price 6s.)

"New Wine and Old Bottles." By Constance Smedley. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. Price 6s.)

"George Elliott." By Viola Meynell. (London: Herbert and Daniel. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"The Westminster Review." February. (London: E. Marlborough and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Better Times for Working People." By James Glass. (London: Ormiston and Glass, Limited. Price 7d. net.)

"The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness." By Josephine Butler. (Bristol: J. Arrowsmith, Limited. Price 6d. net.)

"Women's Tax Resistance League. Third Annual Report" (London: 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C. Price 1d.)

"Penal Reform League Quarterly Record." (London: 1, Harrington Square, N.W. Price 6d.)

"Report of the Executive Committee of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association for 1912." (Dublin. Irish Women's Suffrage Society.)

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[*] "Robert Kett and the Norfolk Rising." By Joseph Clayton. (London: Martin Secker. 8s. 6d.)

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1913.

THE CABINET AND LIBERAL WOMEN

Amid much that defies political prophecy, one fact stands out perfectly clear: the Liberal women hold the immediate fate of Woman Suffrage in the hollow of their hand. Entrenched as they are in every constituency of the country, with over a thousand organised branches, and with an enrolled membership of not less than 200,000 women, they can, if they will, exert a form of pressure on the Liberal Government which is irresistible.

It is not necessary for them to adopt methods of violence or lawlessness; it is not necessary for them to pursue the Government with active hostility, or even to take up a positive anti-Government policy. By merely registering a public vow of abstention from active support, and by totally refusing to give any service whatever until their just demands are conceded, they can enforce their will, for the simple reason that the Liberal Party would not dare to take the field at election time unless it was sure, in advance, of the support of its women.

It is difficult to understand how women who combine political acumen with a sense of personal dignity can take any other course. Here is a Party which professes to include among its principles such watchwords as "government of the people by the people," "taxation without representation is tyranny," and "government rests on the consent of the governed." To these doctrines it seems a necessary corollary that since women are part of the people, and since they are subject to be taxed and governed, they shall also be included among the electorate. How, then, can women continue to offer to this Party their allegiance, and to act for it as hewers of wood and drawers of water, unless that Party is prepared to accept the enfranchisement of women as a fundamental part of its creed, and unless the Government supported by that Party are prepared to place it on their programme and make it the subject of immediate legislation?

We shall be told, no doubt, that there are difficulties in the way, that there are persons in high places to consider, that there are members of the Cabinet opposed to this reform. And when we ask whether the fundamental principles of liberty are not greater than the prejudices of individual men—even of members of the Cabinet—and whether, if some Liberal statesmen are illiberal, others cannot be found to replace them, we shall be told that that suggestion might with reason be applied to the less important members of the Government, but as the Prime Minister himself is an anti-Suffragist, to ask for a Government measure is evidently to ask for the impossible.

A few months ago, even a few weeks ago, this argument might have carried weight, but it will not do so to-day. It is now generally understood that Mr. Asquith has no intention of retaining his office much longer, and that he is shortly to be succeeded by a man who is an avowed advocate of Woman Suffrage. When this event happens, all the leading men in the Cabinet will be in favour of the reform, and the inclusion of Votes for Women in the Government programme will present no real difficulty. But unless the Liberal women recognise to-day the futility of trusting to the proposed facilities for a Private Member's Bill, and unless to-day they make their resolute demand for a Government measure and announce that in default they will carry out a political strike, there is grave danger that their loyalty will be exploited, and that when the new situation arrives they will be left still outside the fold.

Moreover, what of the future of the Liberal Party itself? The effect of the continued refusal to place Woman Suffrage on the official programme will mean the further estrangement of much of the best progressive womanhood of the country. We make no secret of the fact that we ourselves and many like us shall encourage open hostility to the Government; the continued attacks of militant Suffragists will lead to reprisals, and both attack and reprisal will further damage the prestige of the Party. Finally, the distrust of Liberalism and the disbelief in the sincerity of the utterances of Liberal statesmen, which the events of the last seven years have implanted in the hearts of women, will be grievously increased, and under no future circumstances will they ever be wholly uprooted.

On the other hand, if at the instigation of the Liberal women the Liberal Party frankly set aside all their past mistakes and make themselves responsible for the immediate passage of a Woman Suffrage Bill, the Party will have the solid backing of nearly all the thinking women of the country; it will face the future with the assurance that comes from the fact that it is in line with the inevitable march of the forces of destiny.

We call, then, upon the Liberal women not to lag behind in this great fight. This is a critical moment not merely for Woman Suffrage, but for the Liberal Party, for only those who are in the van of progress to-day will be able to lead women when the vote is won. We call upon them to declare a definite political strike, and to hold to this resolve till their terms are conceded. No doubt, to some this may bring the loss of personal homage, to others it may mean that family advancement will be retarded, on all it will impose the necessity of clear thinking and of being prepared if necessary to stand out alone on behalf of their convictions. We call upon Liberal women to put all these private considerations on one side, and to be influenced solely by the public interest. Only by so doing will they be worthy of their womanhood and of the great traditions of which they are the inheritors.

MILITANCY FOR NON-MILITANTS

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence

The Movement for Woman's Enfranchisement in the United Kingdom has passed through a great political crisis. There has been a political earthquake. The houses built upon the sand have fallen. But prison walls cemented with old conceptions and foregone conclusions have suddenly given way also, and through the gaps a people, long imprisoned in mental obscurity, is emerging into the light.

Against the destruction of ill-founded hopes we set real and definite gains—an immense revolution in public opinion to which all the newspapers of the country have testified; the withdrawal of the Government's Manhood Suffrage Bill, for which there was and is no demand in the country, and which was only introduced for the purpose of defeating Woman Suffrage; and above everything else the fact that all sections of the Suffrage Movement are once again united in their demand. With steadfast determination they are calling for a Government measure, and are declaring themselves in opposition to the Government in power which refuses this reasonable and just demand.

United thus, not only in our ultimate, but also in our immediate aim against a common enemy, the time has come for us all as Suffragists to consider whether we cannot realise a much closer unity of strategy, and whether the different sections of the Movement, while not necessarily adopting identical methods, cannot play into each other's hands to the great discomfiture of our opponents.

Can those who are spiritually militant, and who feel that mere words at the present moment are inadequate to the situation, find any expression in action? That is the question! It was presented to me in sharp and definite form at the close of a great meeting in Dublin last week. "Cannot some form of militancy without violence be devised?" asked one who had given over fifty years of a strenuous life in devoted service to the Woman's Cause. It is a question not to be lightly or superficially answered, but to be very seriously and earnestly considered.

It must be remembered that violence played no part in the campaign of the militant movement when that campaign was first initiated, nor had it any place in its policy for a long period of its existence. Public opinion was startled. Political complacency was rudely shocked. The law—the iniquitous law that exacts from women the duties of citizenship while tyrannously refusing the corresponding rights—was challenged. The by-law that forbade women to demonstrate their legitimate grievances in the way sanctioned by historic usage was defied and broken. That constituted the militancy of a long five years' campaign, during which the question of women's enfranchisement was lifted from the limbo of oblivion, where it had been consigned by politicians in 1884, and brought to the very front of the political arena. "Yes," say many of the critics of the Militant army to-day, "we have no fault to find with militancy of that kind. The fundamental mistake was made when women resorted to acts of physical violence in pursuance of their campaign."

I am not going to argue that point now. Everybody in this Movement knows by my record what I believe. So long as we live in a physical world under material conditions, I hold physical force has to be taken account of, and has to be used as an expression and an instrument of moral and spiritual and intellectual force, and that reason and judgment are given to us to enable us to determine at what time and under what condition it is necessary or expedient to use it.

A New Situation

But putting that question aside, and recognising that there are people who are conscientiously or temperamentally opposed to active violence of any kind whatever, is not the whole Suffrage Movement confronted to-day with a new situation, which demands a reconsideration of ideas, a readjustment of policy, and a rearrangement of the forces now at our disposal all along the line?

The spirit of militancy, born in a few independent minds some seven or eight years ago, has influenced the temper of the womanhood of this country to an extraordinary degree, and has created a new type amongst younger women by the substitution of new ideals of conduct and character. It has modified and to a great extent transformed the mental attitude of men towards them. The world is ready to accept the kind of political militancy by which it was outraged a few years ago. Cannot those Suffrage societies which form the great middle Suffrage party avail themselves at the present juncture of this most noticeable change in public opinion?

Moreover, the laws of the political game by which politicians had been able to trifle with the Woman's Movement were not known and understood a few years ago except by a few clear and politically trained intellects. To-day the trickery and chicanery of politicians when dealing with this question has been demonstrated before the eyes of the whole world, and, thanks to the political education that they have received on this subject, the mass of professional and working women are stirred to indignation to-day at the insult and injury done to them in the name of Parliamentary procedure.

What half-a-dozen women felt seven years ago is felt by uncounted thousands to-day. Public opinion is ready and numbers of women are ready for demonstrations of protest organised upon lines of "militancy without violence," calculated to bring effective pressure to bear upon the Government.

We cannot expect the initiators of the militant policy to retrace their steps. Pressed by the logic of circumstances as by the duty of setting the pace, they have gone on. "Gone too far," says the world to-day. Well, Society always passes that verdict upon its pioneers. Often history reverses it. Whether it will do so in this case or not only the future can say. Meanwhile, we are concerned with the present. The moment offers possibilities and opportunities to which it would be folly to remain blind. The essence of good diplomacy is to be able to seize new situations and change plans and policies to meet altered conditions and new needs.

The Middle Party

Between the militants who have frankly declared themselves rebels against the social order until they win due recognition as part of the body politic, on the one hand, and those Suffragists who frankly declare themselves the submissive servants of the Liberal Party on the other, there is a vast middle body of Suffragists composed of many Suffrage societies—a middle party daily increasing in numbers, influence and power. It is for this middle party to consider whether the crisis has not arisen which demands the adoption of a policy of "militancy without violence."

That an earlier development of this policy did not succeed in attaining its immediate object, the enfranchisement of women, is no argument against it. In the earlier days the compulsion to action was only felt by the few, and that action was carried out in defiance of current public opinion. To-day it could be carried out by the many, and with the sympathy and moral support of thousands of thoughtful people who have become educated by the course of events.

I suggest three methods by which the militant spirit could find expression in widely concerted and organised action on the part of women and men, with the support of the main body of the Suffrage Movement:—

1. Determined opposition at bye-elections to all candidates who are nominees of the Coalition Government.

2. Determined and organised questioning of Cabinet Ministers at all public or semi-public gatherings, whether distinctly political or not.

3. Resistance of the payment of Imperial taxes, including the Insurance poll-tax.

The first extension of militant policy needs little explanation. It has been adopted by most of the societies in principle already, and only needs effective development.

The second policy challenges the instinct and love for free speech so rightly planted in the British heart. The matter calls for much clear thinking and plain speaking, and space prohibits me from dealing with it at length in a general article. Women are denied the only kind of speech that counts in the political world. Their voice is stifled when taxes that they have to pay are to be decided, or when laws that they have to obey are being made. They have a right to call to account the men whose salaries they help to pay. The challenge given at a public meeting should be one that the whole audience can understand. The cause and justice of the quarrel, as between one human being and another, should be made clear. "You have taken my money, and I want its equivalent." "Before you talk of new laws that I have to obey, tell me how you propose to give me my say." Suffragists should insist on a certain number of questions in relation to this momentous political issue being answered and a certain time devoted to the subject of Woman Suffrage before a public Minister is allowed to hold forth on any other topic, whatever it may be. This form of protest is sound, just, and sensible. It is honoured by usage, it is applauded by all political parties when it happens to serve their own particular interest. If properly organised by both Women's and Men's Societies, and carried out effectively and with numbers, it would supply more pressure of a political kind than any other method that has yet been tried.

The third method is more difficult and fraught with greater risk and inconvenience. It is less direct as a means of political pressure, but well worth the trouble and annoyance as a means of rousing public opinion and enlisting sympathy and support. Tax resistance has a secure and honourable place in the history of political militancy. It has been adopted as a protest again and again by oppressed peoples. It is associated in the memory of the English nation with the honoured names of Pym and Hampden. It formed the first stage of the protest of the American people against the tyrannical rule of an overbearing monarch. It has formed part of a crusade conducted in our own times in the name of religion, and led by well known and revered divines.

This policy has been adopted by more than one Suffrage organisation, and could be made an even more effective demonstration of the withdrawal of women's consent from a Government which is in every essential definition of the word a tyranny, if it were adopted as a united policy by the main body of the Suffrage Movement.

I appeal for the attention of all Suffrage Societies to these suggestions, and for the serious consideration of them as the basis of a practical policy of "militancy without violence," and shall heartily welcome any expression of opinion with regard to the matter in the columns of this paper.

THE SURPRISE,

Jan. 27

Amazing must the end be deemed
By those whose duty took no ease,
Till all the devious ways were seen
Through which to guide the smiling green
Young first of our "facilities."

Incredible it must have seemed
To those who had the mite in hand,
So wisely started for success;
How could such careful guardians guess
Untimely death so subtly planned?

Surprise shall hold them, till a fire
Drops downward as a spark from Heaven
To kindle justice to a flame,
And burn that carelessness to shame
Which let so great surprise be given.

Dollie Radford.

"A WEEK OF MILITANCY"

Up to the time of going to press the actions of the militant suffragists and the panic they have created have filled many columns of the newspapers day by day, and on Friday last the *Globe* came out with the following poster: "Public Peril: More Threats and Outrages: Cabinet Responsibility." In addition to the breaking of windows and attacks on pillar-boxes, in London and many other places, several new forms of militancy have been entered upon, including damage to golf greens in the neighbourhood of Birmingham, and the firing of bullets marked "Votes for Women" from a catapult.

ROYAL PALACES CLOSED

The authorities at the end of last week decided to close several places usually open to the public. Among these are the Royal Palaces of Kensington, Hampton Court, Kew, and Holyrood, while a particularly careful look-out is, it is stated, being kept at the National Gallery, Tate Gallery, British and Natural History Museums, Guildhall, and British Museum, where all muffs, bags, and parcels have to be given up, and visitors are carefully watched.

AT THE TOWER

The announcement of these precautions followed quickly upon the breaking of the glass show-case in the Jewel House at the Tower of London on Saturday by Mrs. Cohen, the Leeds tailoress, who was a member of Mrs. Drummond's deputation of working women, and whose speech on the conditions of tailoresses' work made a great impression on Mr. Lloyd George and the other Ministers who were present. Mrs. Cohen was taken to Leman Street Police Station, charged at the Thames Police Court, and committed for trial on a charge of committing wilful damage. A report on the matter was made to the authorities of the Tower, of whom Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood as Constable is the principal, and it was decided temporarily to close the Jewel House to all strangers.

THE PRIMATE'S WINDOWS

At the Westminster Police Court on Thursday, January 30, Mrs. Henrietta Hunt was brought up and was charged by the police with "using insulting behaviour whereby a breach of the peace might have been occasioned." Police Constable Arnett stated that on Wednesday afternoon he saw the defendant "bash" in the front windows of Lambeth Palace with a heavy bottle tied with ribbon, supporting a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Six windows were broken, the damage amounting to about £2.

Inspector Hockings said that the Archbishop, whom he had seen, did not desire to prosecute for wilful damage, on the ground that it would further the object of the prisoner to gain notoriety and publicity. Inasmuch, however, as the prisoner threatened to go back to the Palace to commit further damage, the witness framed the charge against her. The defendant also said she was going to try and interview the King.

The Defendant: I mean to say that I will not keep the peace. I will do whatever I can until women get the vote. The Archbishop, the head of the Church, should help us. I admit smashing the windows, but I don't know how you can call that insulting behaviour.

Mr. Barker (for the prosecution): I think it does amount to that at the house of a person of high position.

The Magistrate: I am not prepared to rule it is not, in such circumstances, to be regarded as insulting behaviour. The defendant has raised the point, and I am bound to notice it. It would have been better if she had been charged with the damage, though the Inspector acted rightly in preventing any possible further trouble. Still, there is a little difficulty about it. The defendant, he added, might not find such a lenient person to deal with next time as the Archbishop. He should have sent her to prison most assuredly had she been charged with the malicious damage. Now she would be bound over in 40s. to be of good behaviour for three months.

Defendant: I won't be bound over. I won't accept it.

The Magistrate: That will do.

Mr. Barker: What happens if she persists?

Mr. Horace Smith: Fourteen days in prison.

The defendant, refusing to be bound over, was committed to Holloway under powers of the Statute 34, Edward III., Chap. I., "As a loose, idle, and disorderly person, disturbing the public peace."

Mrs. Hunt was released on the following day, no reason being given.

"A WEEK OF MILITANCY"

On Thursday night, January 31, the *Manchester Guardian* London correspondent under the above title wrtoe:—

"The appearance of some central parts of this imperial City to-day would suggest to a stranger that street fighting had begun —as indeed it has between the militant suffragists and the shop windows. In Cockspur Street, near Charing Cross, the casualties have been greatest, the shipping lines suffering most. To-day the two great sheets of glass that form the windows of the Hamburg-Amerika line offices (which have been twice smashed) were replaced, and immediately the glaziers had finished the carpenters set to work to board up the new glass. At Oceanic House over the way tarpaulins are being put over every window at nightfall. In Oxford Street and Regent Street many shop windows are boarded, and some firms have engaged special watchmen to do duty all night on the pavement. Police and commissionaires are lurking on the watch in most unsuspected places. In Whitehall many windows are now covered with a screen of wire fixed in temporary wooden frames, and the windows of the National Liberal Federation offices, in Parliament Street, are so protected. People who have summer sunblinds externally let them down at nightfall, and all the jewellers are in a great hurry to unroll the iron screens that protect their treasures."

GOLF GREENS

Saturday's papers reported that the putting greens on the golf courses in the neighbourhood of Birmingham had been damaged. In some cases the greens were torn up; in others the words "Votes for Women" were stained on them with a burning acid. Serious damage, says the *Sheffield Telegraph*, was done. The acid had burned and shrivelled the turf up, and all will have to be re-turfed. The *Standard* says that the question is being asked, "What sport or pastime is safe if such tactics are adopted?" It quotes a prominent golfer as having said: "Breaking the windows of Government buildings is bad; the crusade against the panes of business houses is worse, but the attack on one of the most necessary and delightful sports of the people is the worst of all."

Dr. Pooler, of the Castle Bromwich Golf Club, is reported in the *Daily Express* as having said: "We golfers have nothing to do with political and other troubles. It is all very well to damage letter-boxes and other Government property, but when it comes to interfering with golf greens the action of suffragists is absurd and ridiculous in the extreme."

CATAPULTS

On Friday, January 31, Miss Jackydawra Melford was fined 40s. at the Westminster Police Court for "discharging a missile to the common danger at Victoria Street, Westminster." A constable said that on Thursday night he saw Miss Melford on a motor-'bus in Victoria Street. As the 'bus was passing the Westminster Palace Hotel she shot a bullet from the catapult. He at once stopped the vehicle and discovered the catapult in her muff. Subsequently a leaden bullet weighing over 1oz was found in the basement of the hotel. On it were impressed the words, "Votes for Women." No damage was done. The fine was paid by her father.

PRESS COMMENTS

A first-class measure . . . has also been lost, and heaven alone knows what trouble is in store with the suffragette viragoes, who have this time a certain amount of reason for considering that they have been "dished." All this to save a possible split in the Cabinet!—**Truth.**

"Fooled again" is the only possible comment upon the Woman's Suffrage imbroglio. But you cannot go on fooling people for ever, as the Government seems to suppose.—**Financial News.**

On Tuesday evening many West End firms took the precaution of boarding their windows, and where this was not done police were stationed. But the women mocked at protective measures, and were successful in damaging windows at Messrs. Marshall and Snelgrove's, T. Lloyd and Co.'s, Liberty's in Regent Street, and Gamage's in Holborn.—**Draper.**

At Stratford Police Court, in a case where a letter had been unanswered, it was suggested that that might be due to suffragists, and it was stated in one case 150 invitations to a wedding went astray.—**Northern Leader.**

"MRS. DRUMMOND AT THE GATE"

Mrs. Drummond, the circumstances of whose arrest and sentence to fourteen days' imprisonment (in default of paying a fine of 40s.) we related last week, was released from Holloway on Thursday afternoon, January 30, after about twenty-four hours' imprisonment. Her fine had been paid by some person unknown. She was interviewed about four o'clock by the Governor of Holloway, who informed her that she was at liberty to go. When she inquired how that had come about, she was told that her fine had been paid. Mrs. Drummond asked, "By whom?" She was told that a gentleman had paid the fine, and she left Holloway assuring the Governor that in her opinion the fine had been paid by Mr. Lloyd George. The answer to this was an enigmatical smile.

On Monday last Mrs. Drummond sent another request to Mr. Lloyd George to fulfil his promise to receive the Working Women's Deputation again. She wrote:—

As I am now out of prison, and have to some extent recovered from the effects of the violence with which I was treated by the police, who were instructed to prevent us from seeing you on January 28, I now write to ask that you will appoint a time and place at which I and my deputation of working women can wait upon you. There is, I am sure, no need to remind you that at our last interview you promised you would see us again after the fate of the women's amendment to the Franchise Bill had been settled. I call upon you to fulfil this promise and receive my deputation.

To avoid misunderstanding, let me say that no more private interviews will serve our purpose. The question we have to discuss is of serious national importance, and the public have, therefore, the right to know what we say to you and what you say to us. I suggest to-morrow (Tuesday) for the interview.

On Tuesday Mrs. Drummond received the following reply:

Treasury Chambers, Whitehall, S.W.
February 3.

Dear Madam, — With reference to your letter of to-day's date, I am desired by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to point out that he offered to meet yourself and one or two other representatives of the Women's Social and Political Union on the morning after the final decision on the Franchise Bill had been taken, and that instead of accepting the invitation, you and other members of your union came to the House of Commons and created a disturbance. In these circumstances, Mr. Lloyd George cannot undertake to receive another deputation as you suggest.—Yours faithfully,

H. P. Hamilton.

In a further letter Mrs. Drummond said:—

I am amazed by the terms of your letter. What you offered to us was a private interview, which, as I have already explained, is obviously no fulfilment whatever of your promise to receive us in public deputation. I must, therefore, renew the request that you will, in accordance with your pledged word, accord to myself and my deputation of working women a public interview for the purpose of discussing the prospects of woman suffrage.

The *Manchester Guardian*, in its issue of January 30, quoted a passage from Mr. Henry W. Nevinson's article in last week's Votes for Women (in which he described the assault made upon Mrs. Drummond by the police on her way to the House of Commons from the Horticultural Hall), and added the comment: "Mrs. Drummond's own account of the incident, as given in the police court before the magistrate, differs from the foregoing in several particulars."

Mrs. Drummond's own account, given in the same paper, was to the effect that "the police had twisted her in some way or another, and that when she fainted from the pain a policeman let her 'drop like a log, face downwards, on the pavement, not realising, perhaps, that I was in a faint.'"

Mr. Nevinson's Reply

Mr. Nevinson replied to the note in the *Manchester Guardian* in a letter which appeared in that paper on January 31, in the course of which he says: "I submit that when a woman has been rendered unconscious from pain her own evidence as to what happened is not necessarily the most accurate. It is generally known that a person who has fainted, or has been stunned, usually retains only a confused memory of the few previous moments, and often forgets them altogether. But . . . the important question is, why the police should have assaulted her at all. . . . The police had evidently received orders to allow her, with a small deputation, to come right up to the door of the House. . . . Why, then, did the police violently set upon Mrs. Drummond before she had got more than 200 yards from the Horticultural Hall, from which she started? Whether you take my account, that she was thrown down, or take hers that she was twisted, that she fainted from the pain, and was dropped like a log, face downwards, on the pavement, that question remains unaltered."

Demand for an Enquiry

A comment upon this letter appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* the same day, in a leader headed "Militants and the Police," from which we quote as follows:—

"There is, at any rate, no doubt that the authorities had agreed to allow the deputation of which she was a member to reach the House of Commons unmolested, and that some 200 yards from its starting place Mrs. Drummond was so handled by the police that she fell on the pavement and suffered such severe pain that she fainted. A general belief that a constable, even when exasperated, is much less likely than a civilian to use more force than is needed for self-defence is one of the best possible safeguards of law and order. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that any case which tends to upset that belief, as does this one, should be the subject of full enquiry."

Mrs. Drummond's Account

Mrs. Drummond herself bore out Mr. Nevinson's interpretation of the whole matter in her speech made at the London Pavilion last Monday, when she stated that on leaving the Horticultural Hall on Tuesday night, January 28, she and the women with her evaded one or two policemen who tried to stop them. They turned into Rochester Row and passed some more policemen, and, added Mrs. Drummond, "I imagined that their anger was aroused at the women's getting past them. One of them turned and caught me by the right arm and twisted it to such an extent that the pain caused me to faint. I must then have been thrown down on the pavement, and my doctor says I must have been thrown with great force, because I was sick afterwards, which shows that I sustained slight concussion. The first thing I remember when I came to was Miss Sylvia Pankhurst asking someone to help me to get up, and the policeman saying that I was too ill to go on. I thought to myself 'The Government intend to maim me so much that I shall not get forward.' So I said to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and the others, 'If you stick to me I will go forward."

The case of Mrs. Drummond was further dealt with by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst in her defence at Bow Street on Wednesday last. See page 275.

IN THE PRESS

Their leaders are allowed to defy the law with impunity, to make speeches of the most threatening kind, and to put into execution their menace to the business life of the community. Yet nothing is done by the Home Secretary; he confesses himself impotent and beaten; the law is put into force only to be derided; imprisonment has become a farce. And all this futile and incompetent Minister can do is to hint at an extension of the system of "ticket of leave." If the Government have no methods but those of weakness and cowardice, let them make way for Ministers who will deal honestly by the women and honestly by the nation.—**Globe, Jan. 31.**

So Helpful!

The electors are not likely to be coerced or bullied into conceding votes for women, and while it would not be wise for the advocates of women's suffrage to "sit still and do nothing," we regard the threats that are now being uttered with regret.—**Nottingham Guardian.**

Denying that any member of the Government would resign on the Suffrage question, Mr. Herbert Samuel said that the Government "had too many great tasks in hand to justify a quarrel upon this one issue." We are afraid that the Pillar Box Outrages have embittered the INFANT SAMUEL.—**Punch.**

PRISONERS OF WAR

"It is cheaper in the long run to lift men up than to hold them down . . . The ballot in their hands is less dangerous to society than a sense of wrong in their heads.—*Lowell.*

IN ENGLAND

Arrested on Tuesday, January 28th

Forrester, Mrs. Lilian, window-breaking, 7 days (released on February 4).
Tollemache, Miss Æthel, window-breaking, 7 days (released on February 4).
McLeod, Miss Robina, obstruction, 10 days.
Williams, Miss Grace, obstruction, 10 days.
Drummond, Mrs., obstruction, 14 days (released January 30, fine paid).
Evans, Nurse, obstruction, 14 days.
Hay, Miss Charlotte, obstruction, 14 days.
Holton, Miss Elsie, obstruction, 14 days.
Huntingdon, Nurse, obstruction, 14 days (released January 31, fine paid).
Scott, Miss Isabella, obstruction, 14 days.
Norton, Mrs. Nancy, obstruction, 14 days.
Grey, Miss May, obstruction, 14 days.
Pearson, Mrs. Nance Seymour, obstruction, 14 days (released February 1, fine half-paid).
Haig, Miss Evelyn Cotton, window-breaking, 1 month.
Leigh, Miss Dora Boughton, window-breaking, 1 month (released January 31, fine paid).
McFarlane, Miss Margaret, window-breaking, 1 month.
Neill, Miss Marie, window-breaking, 1 month.
Hirst, Mrs. Cobden, window-breaking, 1 month.
Newton, Miss Nora, window-breaking, 1 month.
Pankhurst, Miss Sylvia, obstruction, adjourned for one week, 14 days on February 5. Released immediately, fine paid.
Llewhellin, Miss Olive, Thomas, Miss Ethel, Allen, Miss Lilian, and Smith, Miss Alice, discharged.
Burbidge, Miss Grace, bound over.

Cases to be Heard To-day

James, Miss Margaret, committed for trial.
Beckett, Mrs. Ethel, committed for trial.
Brindley, Mrs. Maud, committed for trial.
Hatton, Miss Esther, committed for trial.
Lambert, Miss Clara, committed for trial.
Pendred, Miss Plesance, committed for trial.
Scholefield, Miss Mabel Muriel, committed for trial.
Miles, Mrs. Mary Louisa, committed for trial.
Russell, Mrs. Louise (arrested Wednesday) committed for trial.
Hull, Miss Florence, 14 days.
Hunt, Mrs. Henrietta, 14 days (released February 1).
Melford, Miss, 1 month (fine paid).

Arrested on Saturday, February 1st

Cohen, Mrs. committed for trial.
Shortt, Miss Jane, remanded.

Arrested on February 4th

Ball, Miss Edith Warwick, committed for trial.
Rogers, Miss Marie Macgregor, Smith, Miss Winifred, Williams, Miss Isobel (Feb. 4) for bill-posting, 20s. or seven days.

THE SESSIONS CASES

At Clerkenwell To-day

The cases committed for trial at the Sessions are due to be heard to-day, Friday. In charging the Grand Jury on Tuesday Mr. Robert Wallace, K.C., said the calendar, light as it was, would have been much lighter if it had not been for the damage done to property in a recent outbreak. The Grand Jury had nothing to do with the alleged grievances of these persons. If they were satisfied that the six women standing for trial had committed the damage complained of, and had broken the windows of many large establishments, then it was for the Courts to consider what excuse might be urged on their behalf, and the duty of the Grand Jury to return true bills against them.

MRS. DESPARD

Mrs. Despard, who was sentenced at Bow Street on Tuesday, January 28, to fourteen days' imprisonment (in default of paying a fine of £2 and costs) on a charge of "obstructing the free passage of the highway," was released on the following evening, her fine having been paid by some person unknown. Almost immediately after her release she spoke at a meeting of the Women's Freedom League at Clapham Hall, where her totally unexpected arrival was the signal for enthusiastic cheers.

Mrs. Despard said: "This morning I had settled myself down to a fortnight's rest cure. (Laughter.) It was not till four o'clock to-day that I knew some interfering person had paid my fine. When I was told, I said, 'All right, I suppose you know I am going out to fight again?'"

Mrs. Despard said she had been three times in prison, and she added, "I glory in it. This war we are engaged in at the present moment is a holy war; it is as holy as any crusade ever entered upon. I am out of prison to fight again. We do not intend to trust to any more promises or pledges; we want fulfilment now. The only thing that will satisfy us is a declaration that we shall have a Government measure."

W.F.L. PRISONER RELEASED

On Monday the lady who was arrested with Mrs. Despard in Trafalgar Square last week, and sent to prison on Tuesday, January 28, for seven days, was released from Holloway and welcomed by a "bell-salute" outside the prison. Her name did not transpire. A leader of the W.F.L. stated in conversation with a Press representative that although the name of the lady could not be ascertained by the police on her appearance at Bow Street, "she should have been well known to the police, as there were previous convictions against her in several parts of the country. She was not arrested in the ordinary way. She accompanied Mrs. Despard in a taxi-cab to Bow Street, and it seems that when the police saw her there they thought it necessary to make some official explanation as to her presence. Accordingly a charge was made against her. It was a most irregular and illegal proceeding, and shows the slipshod method in which charges are preferred."

NURSE HUNTINGDON

Nurse Huntingdon, a member of Mrs. Drummond's deputation, who was sentenced at Bow Street on Wednesday, January 29, to a fine of 40s. or fourteen days' imprisonment, was released from Holloway on the following day, her fine having been paid by some unknown person.

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST

Before the Bow Street police magistrate on Wednesday Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was charged, on remand, with obstructing the police. Miss Pankhurst was one of the women who accompanied Mrs. Drummond and others to the House of Commons on Tuesday evening last week.

Mr. Musker prosecuted for the Commissioner of Police. Miss Pankhurst conducted her own defence.

Inspector Godding gave evidence of hearing Chief-Inspector Rogers tell the women forming the deputation that Mr. Lloyd George could not see them until the morning. The accused said, "We don't go away until we do see him." She made repeated attempts to force her way through the police cordon, and it became necessary to take her into custody. At the police station she threw a pot of ink into the centre of the room. Some of the ink went on the witness's face.

Miss Evelyn Sharp was called for the defence. She said that when Mrs. Drummond was on her way to the House of Commons a policeman seized her by the arms and threw her to the pavement. The witness said she could not see the policeman's number, as it was covered by his mackintosh.

Mr. Muskett said that would be impossible, and implied that witness had made an incorrect statement. Miss Sharp said emphatically, "Excuse me, *that* policeman's number was covered by *that* mackintosh." Mr. Muskett made no reply.

"Votes for Women" Quoted in Court

Later Mr. Muskett said it was stated in a paper which supported the Women's Suffrage movement that three policemen sprang at Mrs. Drummond, and that the largest and most brutal of them seized her by the waist, as a man seizes a player at Rugby football, and dashed her to the pavement.

In cross-examination Superintendent Wells said he had received several complaints from women as to the conduct of the police which proved to be untrue.

Miss Pankhurst: You know that the Conciliation Committee found that some of the charges were proved?

Mr. Muskett: Really, there must be a limit to this kind of thing.

Sir Albert de Rutzen (to Miss Pankhurst): No doubt you are fond of hearing your own voice, but this has nothing to do with the charge.

Miss Pankhurst said she only tried to protect Mrs. Drummond, who was certainly thrown to the ground by a policeman. She became unconscious, and the police looked on helplessly while she unfastened the collar of Mrs. Drummond's dress, and she appealed to them to keep the crowd back.

Sir Albert de Rutzen said he could imagine nothing more childish than the conduct of these women. They had a perfect right to seek an interview with Mr. Lloyd George, but when they found that he could not see them until the following morning they should have waited until then. Instead of doing that, they tried to force their way through the police cordon. He thought the accused deserved a heavier punishment than Mrs. Drummond, but she would only be fined 40s., in default fourteen days' imprisonment.

Miss Pankhurst: I shall not do that sentence. I shall do the hunger strike and endeavour to get out.

Who Paid the Fine?

After spending one hour in Holloway Gaol Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was released, her fine having been paid by some person unknown.

IN IRELAND

We understand that Mrs. Cousins, Mrs. Connery, and Mrs. Hoskins, who were sentenced at Dublin on Tuesday, January 28, have been sent to Tullamore, where they are lodged in the famous prison where Mr. William O'Brien made his fight for political treatment, and where John Mandeville, M.P., died as a result of cruel prison treatment under Mr. Balfour's Coercion régime. No intimation had been given to their friends, who called earlier in the day at Mountjoy, that such transference was intended. Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington and other prominent Suffragists went to Tullamore the next day, and the I.W.F.L. will keep a representative in Tullamore while the prisoners are there. As a result of the meeting held in the town a week previously by Mrs. Emerson and Mrs. Quinn, public opinion in Tullamore was found to be most sympathetic, and if the intention of the authorities in removing the prisoners was to separate them from their friends, the result has not been attained, for a new circle of enthusiastic friends has been created in Tullamore.

The prisoners have been allowed several modifications of the hard labour sentence, corresponding, apparently, to Rule 243A. They retain their own clothes, they have refused to do any prison work, and the point has not been pressed; they have large and well-furnished cells, with a coal fire, and they are allowed to associate at exercise. No particulars are available as to their diet. They have not been allowed to receive visits, or to write or receive letters.

Full Political Treatment Demanded

A memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, asking that they should receive full political treatment, with all the privileges as to letters and visits granted to the eight Irish women imprisoned in Mountjoy last summer, was sent by the I.W.F.L. Among the 700 signatories were those of the Hon. Georgina O'Brien (daughter of the Lord Chief Justice), the Hon. Mary Lawless, Mr. James Stephens, Mr. E. A. Aston, Miss Deborah Webb, Miss Una O'Connor (daughter of the Master of the Rolls), and Miss Louie Bennett. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. George Lansbury also signed the Memorial, and 360 signatures were obtained at Mrs. Lawrence's meeting in Dublin, and 129 at the meeting in Belfast.

The following petition was also sent by the Irish Women's Reform League to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant:—

"Your petitioners humbly pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to direct that Mrs. Cousins, Mrs. Connery, and Mrs. Hoskins, who are at present undergoing sentences of hard labour in Mountjoy Prison, be accorded the status of political offenders as was done in the case of other Suffragist prisoners in Mountjoy Prison. In the event of this not being done, we beg humbly to point out that the hunger strike will be resorted to, with its attendant horrors of forcible feeding. We feel sure that Your Excellency will use your influence to prevent this inhuman and futile method of coercion."

An official reply was received on February 4 stating that "the prisoners in question had been granted privileges and amelioration of treatment not given to ordinary prisoners."

In reply, the I.W.F.L. pointed out that they did not consider the letter satisfactory, and could not accept it as final. The letter proceeded: "We cannot regard any modifications or 'amelioration' of treatment 'not granted to ordinary prisoners' as an adequate substitute for full political treatment, which you accorded already to Irish Suffragist prisoners convicted on precisely similar charges. These included the following rights, now denied to the four prisoners in question, namely, the right to receive a visit daily, and to receive and write a letter daily; to the use of writing materials, books, and newspapers; and to have food supplied from outside at the prisoners' own expense. We cannot understand why these rights have now been withheld from one set of prisoners, while freely granted to another on a former occasion, and we shall not be satisfied with any concessions short of those already bestowed by you. We accordingly forward a further instalment of 300 names to your Excellency, with the request that our memorial shall have your immediate consideration, as if the rights in question be longer withheld serious consequences may follow."

At the Southern Police Court on January 28 Mrs. Sheeby Skeffington reminded the magistrate (Mr. Drury) that in her case, Mr. Swift had said that, if he had the power, he would give the women suffragists political treatment. Afterwards the Chairman of the Visiting Justices told her the magistrate had the power. Mr. Drury replied that he had not the power, and that if he had he would not use it.

Mr. Ginnell in the House

In the House of Commons on Tuesday, February 4, Mr. Ginnell asked whether the ladies now in prison in Ireland in connection with the suffrage agitation are being treated as political offenders or as common criminals; will he say why they have been sent from Dublin to the prison of Tullamore, and what medical officer will watch their health there; whether they can communicate with each other; and whether they are free to read and write?

Mr. Birrell: The prisoners referred to have been granted privileges and amelioration of treatment not given to ordinary prisoners; they were transferred to Tullamore as a prison where these relaxations could be carried out without interfering with the general discipline of a large prison. Dr. Kennedy, the medical officer of the prison for twenty-five years, will carefully watch the health of the prisoners. They can communicate with one another; they are allowed to read, and will be given such opportunities of writing as the rules allow.

Mrs. Purser's Case

Among those present at the reception to Mrs. Lawrence on Wednesday, January 29, was Mrs. Mabel Purser, daughter of Dean O'Brien (Dean of Limerick), great-granddaughter of Smith O'Brien, the Young Ireland leader, and cousin of Mr. Stephen Gwynn, M.P. Mrs. Purser has been active in the work of the I.W.F.L. for the past year—she sold suffrage papers under the shadow of the statue of Smith O'Brien, which, she said, gave her courage—but she had not hitherto been to prison. On the next afternoon, Thursday, January 30, she went out, without consulting anyone, and broke the windows of the Custom House as a protest. She was promptly sentenced to one month's hard labour, and another month in default of bail. Mrs. Purser's arrest has caused something of a sensation in Dublin, owing to her distinguished family connections and those of her husband (who is a nephew of Professor Purser, of Trinity College). In the course of her speech Mrs. Lawrence had made a moving appeal to the women present to "go out and evangelise Ireland." The three women who had been sent to prison the day before had, she said, acted as champions of liberty; but it was tragic that there were only three. How much more effective it would have been had there been fifty! Fifty would not have got hard labour, for the authorities would not have known what to do with them. They were wasting the lives of their pioneers by allowing the same women to go to prison again and again.

We take the following from the *Freeman's Journal* of January 30: "Glaziers were busily engaged yesterday at the Castle replacing the windows which were broken on Tuesday by the three suffragettes. Every lady passing through the quadrangles was closely scrutinised by the police, 'because,' as one constable remarked to our representative, 'there are a whole lot of windows undamaged yet.'"

The following advertisement appeared one day last week in the *Morning Post*:—

The Militant Suffragettes.—Will those who are willing to assist in crushing the militant serpent communicate with, &c., &c.

It will be interesting to see if all those "who are willing" will succeed in doing what the Government and the whole force of the penal system have as yet entirely failed to accomplish.

"A Tram emulates the Suffragists" is the *Daily Graphic's* title for a picture of an accident at Birmingham on January 30, when a car ran into a shop window.

THE BULGARIAN MOTHER

An interesting article on "The Position of the Mother in Bulgaria" appeared recently in *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* from which we translate one or two passages showing that in Bulgaria, as elsewhere, only a vigorous agitation on the part of the women themselves will permanently raise their status, and that where legislation for the protection of women has been attempted, this has been ineffective because women as yet are unrepresented in the State.

"The position of the Bulgarian Mother," says the writer of the article, "is still on patriarchal lines and is ruled more by custom than by law and ordinance. Woman can only become legally a mother by means of the religious marriage ceremony. Civil marriage does not exist, although there is a certain tendency towards its introduction. The woman who becomes a mother outside marriage is considered 'immoral,' is pursued by public hatred, and her child must share its mother's bitter lot. Her position is the same, whether she be the victim of rape or of unhappy love. No one troubles about her. The law only protects the man who abused her weakness or her love and abandoned her to shame and misery. The mother cannot demand from him any support either for herself or the child, as the recherche de la paternité is not allowed by the law. . . . Her child shares that fate. Even the few existing private benevolent institutions for the protection of orphans, usually refuse to receive illegitimate children 'lest they support immorality.' There are no public orphanages. Mothers in direst poverty leave their children in the street. There are few unmarried mothers in Bulgaria, but they do exist, and are, in fact, increasing in number. In 1897 there were 7.43 illegitimate children to every 1,000 born in towns, and in 1900 11.57 to every 1,000."

The Mother on the Land

Bulgaria being mainly an agricultural country, continues the article, "the Bulgarian peasant woman helps her husband in all kinds of work, including field work, but she by no means neglects her motherly duties, the rearing and educating of her children. Two or three days after confinement, and the whole time up to the last moment before it, she does housework. If work is to be done outside as well, she works with the others at that, too, until she is absolutely exhausted. To this cause must be ascribed the large number of premature births or dead children."

In the Towns

In the towns, the working mother is little better off. Only within the last two years, according to the writer of the article, has a system been in existence in Sofia, and in one other town, for the provision of free medical aid in confinement. It appears, too, that the first law for the protection of women and children in the factories, passed in 1905, did little for the working mother except to enjoin an unpaid holiday of four weeks after confinement; and, as the article adds, "such an order can only mean poverty and hunger for the woman at the very moment when she is fulfilling her highest function. If she does not want to die of hunger, she must seek some other work during this time; in most cases she profits by the exceptional clauses of the law, according to which she may resume work three weeks after confinement."

Accounts such as these of the sufferings of women in other countries serve to prove the universality of the demand for direct feminine control in every civilised State, and should be an added incentive to women in this country not to lay down their arms until they have won what they are out to fight, and thus set an example for smaller countries to follow.

WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In view of the forthcoming London County Council elections, a conference was convened last Monday in the Caxton Hall by the Women's Industrial Council, for the purpose of drawing up questions for presentation to the candidates. These directly concerned women and children, and included among them the following:—

Will you support such action as may be necessary to put a stop to cases of immorality in the parks and open spaces?

Will you take action to secure effective police protection; and are you in favour of the appointment of women officials for the protection of women and children in parks and open spaces?

Are you in favour of a single local government franchise for the United Kingdom for men and for women, married and single?

Will you within your own party, whether Moderate or Progressive, support the proposal to include on the list of party candidates for election to the London County Council in 1916 women candidates for at least one seat in every ten?

Are you in favour of requiring at least two women members on every local committee that may be appointed to administer the promised new Mental Deficiency Bill?

Will you take action to secure the revision and the more strict enforcement of the by-laws affecting common lodging-houses in London?

Will you promote the provision by the London County Council of medium-sized lodging-houses with accommodation for about 100 women each in some half-dozen selected areas in London?

The Chairman, Miss Agnes Hitchcock, in closing the proceedings, said, amid loud laughter and applause, that they had provided the candidates with ample matter for reflection.

The Women's Local Government Society

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Sir,—The Franchise and Registration Bill has been withdrawn, but we consider it well worth while to direct the attention of the public to the effect which the Bill, if passed, would have had on the local government franchise.

As the law stands, the people of Scotland and Ireland are better off than the people of England and Wales. In England and Wales, in regard to local government, there exist a disability of sex, a disability of marriage (not statutory), and a certain disability common to men and women.

With the idea of extending to local government the "smooth - working machinery of a very simple kind," devised for Parliamentary purposes, a clause in the Bill proposed that all existing local government franchises should be superseded; but the opportunity thus afforded for simplifying that franchise by removing useless and unjust disabilities was not taken. On the contrary, the Bill provided for re-enacting the anomalies that exist on the Local Government register between one part of the country and another. The result of such action would have been to perpetuate injustice and to stereotype disabilities. Moreover, in addition to reaffirming the sex inequalities introduced in 1894, the provision in the Bill that married women in England and Wales outside London should not vote in county and town council elections would have rendered statutory a disability as to which revising Barristers are not agreed—a result of which would have been to prevent the continuance of Mrs. Hume Pinsent's services on the Birmingham City Council.

In July, 1912, the Women's Local Government Society addressed a protest to the Prime Minister, and three months later presented a memorial signed by over 200 persons selected for qualifications that should give weight to their plea. Friendly members of Parliament, notably Mr. Dickinson, set down amendments to prevent the proposed mischief, and to make one local government franchise uniform throughout the United Kingdom, for men and women, married and single. The Women's Local Government Society placed their case before all members of Parliament. Resolutions in favour of the amendments were sent up by bodies and meetings of both men and women. The London County Council on November 26 adopted a resolution that women (including married women) should be entitled to exercise the franchise at Local Government elections on the same conditions as men.

The Bill is now withdrawn, and we are back in the *status quo ante*, having suffered from a threat only. There is now a breathing-space in which to review the position, and to promote a change in the law such as shall give to women in England and Wales an opportunity of participating in Local Government as electors equally with their sisters in Scotland and Ireland.—Yours faithfully,

Jane M. Strachey, President.
T. Mary Lockyer, Hon. Treasurer.
Annie Leigh Browne, Hon. Secretary.
January 31, 1913.

NEW FICTION

THE WOMAN WHO WORKS

One of the most interesting signs of the times to Suffragist readers of fiction is the fact that even writers like Miss Netta Syrett cannot keep the modern spirit among women out of their novels. In "Three Women,"* Miss Syrett has placed her characters in the wealthy, artistic world that she draws so admirably, where the great mass of suffering arising from poverty and bad social conditions is never touched upon, where all the men are either wealthy epicures or wealthy Philistines, and all the women are beautifully dressed, and every house, even if it is a week-end cottage, is like the inside of a museum. Yet one of the three women in the title, Katharine Verney, who thinks that every woman "on the wrong side of thirty" should go to a beauty doctor, is a first-rate business woman, runs a curiosity shop on a magnificent scale, and prefers a career to marriage when marriage is offered. The second, Phillida Thorold, equally beautiful and wealthy and artistic, is her business partner; and even the third, Rosamund Steele, who cares for nothing but entrapping wealthy lovers, makes a pretence of earning her living in a studio. That the modern spirit should be found in such a Chelsea-made world as this is a triumph for the modern spirit. "But is there such a thing as the modern woman?" asks Phillida's lover, whom, in a genuine bid for independence, she will not marry:—

> Phillida's "no," and the "yes" from Katharine came simultaneously, and they all laughed.
>
> "When experts disagree——" began Robert.
>
> "We mean the same thing," declared Phillida, and as Woodburn's eyebrows went up, she continued, defiantly, "Oh yes! though, of course, you're going to talk about delightful feminine inconsistency, and all that sort of thing. When I say 'No' I mean that women have always been just what they are now—potentially, and when Katharine says 'Yes,' she means that all sorts of latent qualities in women have come to the surface in this age—brought out by modern conditions."
>
> "In other words, the serpent was always in the heart of the dove, waiting its chance?" said Robin, lightly. "Your salted almonds are nevertheless delicious. I shall eat them all, if you don't remove this dish."
>
> "Oh, serpents and doves!" exclaimed Katharine, with vivacious scorn. "We don't come out of the Zoological Gardens! We're just human beings who are learning to lead lives of our own, unrelated to men."

But perhaps the best drawn woman in the book is Caroline Bell, who does not trouble with problems, old or modern, but just aids and abets Rosamund in all her discreditable schemes because she is a born slave and confidante, and who, when Rosamund's former lover and the father of her child comes to carry her off and marry her, gives her the following delicious piece of her mind:—

> "Oh well, I'm all for having things respectable if you *can*. And I'm glad the blessed lamb will come to know his own father, because that's as it should be, if, as I say, there's enough money to make it worth while. And I do think, Rosamund, that if you was to turn to the Lord now, it would be the least you could do for all the mercies 'E's showered upon you. Just think! The little dear's father might have been a poor man, and then, of course, you *would* be a fool to listen to 'im. But 'Eaven has arranged otherwise; and, as he says, once it's blown over you'll be able to laugh at anyone who still sniffs. And when one comes to remember how you've played the fool, I don't see that you can do less than seek the Lord and praise 'Im for all His loving kindness, that I don't. And if I was you, I'd look into the Bible to-night for a change, instead of that French novel. It'll do you a lot more good."

Caroline Bell is really the triumph of the book.

"Ruth's Marriage"† is a book that deals also with the modern working woman of the wealthy classes, but in a very different manner. Miss Constance Smedley has achieved a real success in her character of Ruth, who manages to be the good girl of the "book for girls," with an added sense of humour, and a courage that enables her to revolt at exactly the right moment, and therefore with complete success. Cyril Fowles, the selfish young philanderer of whom she makes a man because she is the only person who has the insight to discover the real man in him, is equally well drawn, and sums himself up in the epigrammatic sentence in which he confesses that before he met Ruth, he "got frightfully in the way of himself." Ruth's parents add, too, to the gaiety of the book. The last scene, in which they pursue their revolting daughter in a motor-car and discover on the way that they are wholly to blame for her runaway marriage, is a delicious one. The only quarrel we have with Miss Smedley is over her treatment of the village industry. She does not seem to us to have sufficiently considered the point of view of the women who were thrown out of work by the vagaries of Ruth and her partner. Her working woman is too much of the type of rich girl who "takes up" a trade as a hobby and drops it without sufficient reason.

HEARTS AND DIAMONDS

There are, in the fiction of to-day, two main divisions. In the one, the larger by far, the writers follow the old lines of plot, of intrigue, of sex love, of dramatic incident; in the other there is a new note; of humane perception, of interests wider than those of the individual, of the love of humanity, of sympathy with the causes which serve it. It is no disparagement of Miss Dell's work to say that "The Knave of Diamonds"§ belongs to the first division; nor is it a criticism; it is merely a statement which implies that she appeals to the large public of the old order, and not to that small public of newer ideas to which the old has not yet given place.

The interest in this very interesting book is mainly that of sex. But the story throughout its length is concerned only with individuals; it goes not out into the streets and lanes of the city; in it is no echo of the cry of pain and misery which sounds in those lanes and streets; and it is because of this that it belongs to the old order, since in the newer school the world shows wider, the cry is audible.

The book is practically a duel between a man and a woman, a good woman, and an undeveloped rather than a bad man. The other characters are mainly interesting in that they are, as it were, seconds to the combatants; which does not mean that they are not well drawn; on the contrary, for Miss Dell has the gift of making her characters live, and they live, some of them, in very noble ways. The only character which is conventional is that of the celebrated surgeon, and him we have met, with varying mannerisms, often before in fiction, and never in fact. But the others have personality and move without wire-pulling. The author has a power of swift, well-proportioned narrative; there is not a dull page in her book; and the dramatic scenes, powerfully rendered, are vivid and restrained. The dialogue runs easily; it is never forced and often funny; the pathos is not overwrought; the sentiment is sentiment and not sentimentality—save for the surgeon, who shows a tendency to lapses in that direction. Nap is a novel conception; a difficult one to work out, but his creator does her work with success; and it is to the credit of that creator—and her heroine—that it is the child soul in him which appeals to Anne, the soul which she felt to be there through all his impossible behaviour, and not the male dominance which might have subjugated a weaker—and perhaps a less maternal—woman. A book to be read and enjoyed; a book which takes you out of yourself.

G.

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* "Three Women." By Netta Syrett. (Chatto and Windus. 6s.)

† "Ruth's Marriage." By Constance Smedley. (The Religious Tract Society. 6s.)

§ "The Knave of Diamonds." By Ethel M. Dell. (T. Fisher Unwin. 6s.)

THE PRIME MINISTER IN SCOTLAND

Mr. Asquith visited Scotland last week, and addressed a meeting of his constituents at Leven on Wednesday evening, January 29. "The Suffragettes," notes the *Dundee Courier,* "were on the warpath. . . . Mr. Asquith, accompanied by Miss Violet Asquith, Sir James and Lady Low of Kilmaron Castle, and guarded by Scotland Yard detectives, did not arrive until the hour of meeting. They entered by the rear of the building, where a large crowd had assembled, but the police maintained perfect order, and the Premier entered the hall unmolested."

This momentous statement is intensified by the following graphic description:—

"Just as the doors were closed and many people had failed to gain admittance the tumult began. The militant Suffragettes from England made a determined effort to rush the doors. 'We want inside,' they shouted, and pressed forward with great determination. The police were taken somewhat unawares, and the pressure was so great that the officers were pinned against the walls and doors in front of the hall. What with the encouraging shouts of some of the younger members of the dense throng, the booing of others, and the shrieking of the women in the forefront, the situation was indeed threatening. The police, with the assistance that could be spared from the other side of the building, however, ultimately got the upper hand, but before the crowd could be dislodged many of the constables had lost their chin-straps and shoulder-straps. The police arrested a woman named Morrison, who spoke with an English accent, and she was taken to Methil Police Office. During the meeting these spasmodic rushes continued, and the women shouted angrily at being so effectively checked. At the conclusion of the meeting . . . the Premier and his daughter motored safely away to Kilmaron. . . . Kilmaron Castle and the approaches thereto are well guarded by members of the Fifeshire Constabulary."

"Freedom!"

On Thursday Mr. Asquith received the freedom of the City of Dundee, but not without many reminders of the freedom which he so stubbornly denies to women. When he opened his mouth to speak in the Kinnaird Hall, says the *Manchester Guardian,* "a young woman under a gallery simultaneously opened hers and began what promised to be a concurrent address. She was exhorting Mr. Asquith to be a statesman and not a politician when she was removed."

"Mr. Asquith once again Faces the Suffrage Music," was the title of a photograph in Saturday's *Daily Graphic,* while the *Daily Sketch* described the scene as "Scottish Suffragists on the Premier's Track," and further explained that Mr. Asquith, in the picture, is "waiting patiently until the suffragists had been ejected to begin his speech."

The *Dundee Evening Telegraph* thus describes the scene in the hall:—

"The Premier had no sooner come to the front of the platform and withstood the fire of the flashlights of the protographers than the demonstration of the militant Suffragettes commenced. First a young lady under the west gallery interrupted, and was no sooner run out than another lady seated in the very centre of the reserved section of the front of the east gallery rose and commenced to speak. When the stewards approached she nimbly climbed over the front rail of the gallery, and there she managed to cling while the mere men tugged to get her away. This performance savoured of gymnastics, and the men below seemed to become somewhat nervous. Then there were interludes in various parts of the hall, including a determined effort by a young fellow in the back gallery. . . . The stewards had to be wary in their work, for there was evidence that the assembly, though impatient of the interruptions, would not brook rough treatment of the interrupters."

Quite half the gathering, it is said, consisted of women. Mr. Asquith, says the Central News, "stood stoically watching the scene."

"Hunted"

The *Daily Express,* under the title, "The Hunted Premier," gave a graphic description, and noted that after the first interruption the Prime Minister had reached precisely the same word in his address when the second occurred. One of the "interruptions" which caused so much excitement apparently consisted of the word "No!" This incident, it is stated, so disturbed the meeting that the Lord Provost had to rise and make a special appeal to the audience to keep their seats. The *Express* adds: Still another interruption occurred when Mr. Asquith said, "It is a peculiar satisfaction to me to-day that I should receive the freedom of Dundee." "You are not worthy of it!" shouted a young man, whose name is given as McIntosh, and who is said to be a student from Edinburgh. And Miss Mary Grant, daughter of a local minister, shouted, "How dare you come to Dundee, you traitor to women!"

The Press states that a man who interrupted fought so persistently that the police and stewards were compelled to resort to the expedient of "frog-marching" to get him out of the building.

Preparations for the Suffragettes—not for the Prime Minister—had begun a week before the meeting took place, and the state of panic into which the conveners of the meeting were thrown is thus described by the *Dundee Evening Telegraph:*—

"The Suffragettes may fairly claim that without engaging in militant work they set the powers that be very onerous tasks. Our police and firemen, with slaters and other allies, engaged in a form of Guy Fawkes' search of the Kinnaird Hall and surrounding buildings. From vaults to roofs the whole quarter was carefully searched for lurking 'persons.' The searchers, however, had to be content with the reward of duty done. . . . The dread of the Suffragette seems to have become a day and night terror to authorities here, there, and everywhere."

The Dundee Branch of the Women's Freedom League organised a big protest meeting in Dundee in which other Suffrage Societies joined. The following declaration was issued:—"We object most emphatically to any honour bestowed on a man who absolutely refuses to confer justice on women, and considering that Dundee is a woman's city, and its trade is produced by women's labours, we think it an insult that such a man should dare show face here, and accept freedom from those to whom he denies it."

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Miss Margaret Morrison was arrested outside Leven Town Hall on Wednesday, as described in the above account, and was brought before the Sheriff, at Cupar, charged with throwing pepper in a policeman's face, and other offences. It was stated that the defendant managed to lock a policeman out of the passage leading to the cells, then broke some windows, and, as the police broke open the door, threw a bucket of water over the first man who entered. She refused to admit the jurisdiction of the court, declined to give her name, or to assist the police in any way to identify her. She was fined £20, with the alternative of 30 days' imprisonment.

WHY?

It has been decided that men only will be admitted to Mr. Birrell's meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne next week.—**Evening Standard, Jan. 31.**

THE FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION

At a meeting of the London members of the F.C.S.U., held last Monday, with Mrs. Mansell-Moullin in the chair, the following resolution, which was proposed by Mr. George Lansbury, was passed:—

"This meeting of the F.C.S.U. desires to express its profound indignation at the way in which the Prime Minister has failed to carry out his solemn and repeated pledge, and rejects with scorn the Government's offer of a private member's Bill next Session. As this offer fails to carry out the pledge—the pledge remains—and as the Franchise Bill is now dead, this meeting demands the immediate introduction of a Government measure to give votes to women on equal terms with men. Failing this, it calls upon Mr. Lloyd George to resign his seat in the Cabinet."

Mrs. Mansell-Moullin, who sent a request on behalf of her Society to Mr. Lloyd George, asking him to receive a deputation from it, received a reply from him, dated January 30, saying he would be "very happy to receive a deputation of his countrywomen," but it "must represent all sections of Welshwomen interested in that question."

To this letter she replied as follows:—

"Dear Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of January 30, and in reply to inform you that it is not the wish of the members of our Union to be received by you at the same time as representatives of party women's organisations, and of Societies of women which stand for other causes and are only interested in the suffrage question. Our point of view is not the same as theirs, for the F.C.S.U. is the only Cymric Union that pledges its members, both men and women, to work for the enfranchisement of women before any other cause.

"We do not consider it our business to communicate with other associations in Wales. We received a letter from your Secretary on December 17, 1912, saying you hoped to be able to arrange for a deputation of the F.C.S.U. to meet you when the Franchise Bill came before the House of Commons.

"We wish to say that as it was our Union which asked for the interview last year and received your message, we feel we have a right to ask you to receive our deputation apart from any other associations, and we trust that in view of the urgency of the situation you will consent to do so.—Yours sincerely,

"E. R. Mansell-Moullin,
"Hon. Organiser, F.C.S.U."

THE WORD "OBEY"

At the third annual meeting of the General Council of the Church League for Women's Suffrage, a resolution was passed urging Convocation "in its revision of the marriage service so to modify the service that it shall not continue to suggest that the wife owes any duty of obedience to her husband other than that consideration for his reasonable desires which is equally due from him to her."

At the same meeting a resolution was passed deploring "the position in which the women's suffrage question has been placed through the miscalculations of the Government." And a third resolution expressed its opinion that "women prisoners in the gaols of Great Britain be allowed to see the ministers of their religious denominations, if they so desire, without the presence of a wardress."

AMERICAN COMRADESHIP

(*Special to* Votes for Women.)

Following upon the resolution passed by the Labour Conference last week, we have received the following telegram from two prominent New York Suffragists, well known for their social reform work in that city:—

"Congratulations on achieving Labour support.

(Signed) "Lillian Wald,
"Rene Alice Lewisohn."

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN AMERICA

Two more States in America are on the way to obtaining Woman Suffrage. The State Legislature both of New York and of Nevada have adopted the proposal to extend the franchise to women. Before this change in the Constitution can be effected it will be necessary for the question to be submitted to a Referendum in both States.

A FRENCH SUFFRAGIST ON MILITANCY

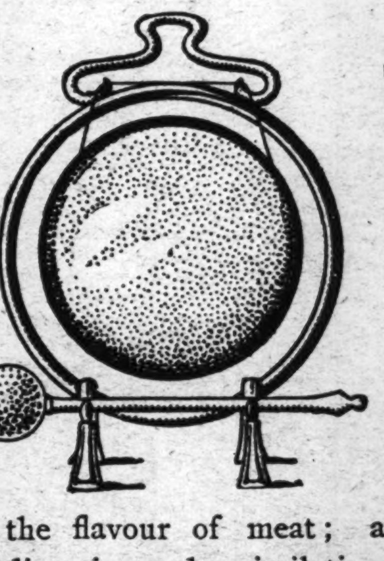
Madame Marguerite Durand, who stood for a Paris borough at the last municipal elections (purely for propaganda purposes, for French women have not yet won the municipal franchise), and obtained 2,500 votes, which were counted as blanks, has been giving her views on militancy to the Paris correspondent of the *Standard.*

"It is quite impossible, and would be out of place, for French women to judge their English sisters," she says. "They are clever, well-educated gentlewomen, and if they choose methods which at first sight seem strange to us, they have probably very good reasons for doing so. In 1848 French women acted in much the same way, and suffered similarly. All means are good to a good end, and we cannot forget that Frenchmen had to go much further before they could obtain their present civic rights. It was then fire and sword and the guillotine, and though it seems very horrible when we look back upon it, it appears to have been the only and necessary means to the end. At present I cannot imagine French women suffragists employing English tactics, because we are too afraid of ridicule. The English ladies have braved this, and gone further, and nothing proves that one day we may not do the same."

A New Name for French Suffragettes

M. Maurice Donnay has coined a new name for the French Suffragette in his play which is now running in Paris. Rejecting the term "féministe" as too serious, he calls her an "Eclaireuse," one who lights or shows the way—a pioneer, in fact; and the term, it is said, is already being applied to any woman who sets out to make a career for herself and break down the conventions. The play in question by no means supports the woman's movement, but that does not augur badly for the new name, since the word "Suffragette" itself originated in a storm of insults and obloquy.

Take it when you're young—you'll have a good digestion when you're old.



The dinner gong

sounds gladly in the ear of the woman who has a good appetite.

Good mustard, freshly made, not only sharpens the appetite, but enhances the flavour of meat; and materially assists the digestion and assimilation of the food. Enjoy your meals by helping yourself to Mustard.

Colman's D.S.F. Mustard

Be sure that it is Colman's.

S.H.B.

THE OLDEST and STILL The "IDEAL COCOA"

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THE OLDEST and STILL The "IDEAL COCOA"

FORCIBLE FEEDING

In the House of Commons on Thursday, January 31, Mr. Gerald France asked the Home Secretary a question of which he had given private notice: If, in view of recent acts of violence by women and the possibility of a recurrence of hunger strikes in prison, he will consider the immediate necessity of legislation which would empower him to release on license only, without having recourse to forcible feeding, those who by refusing to take food have reduced themselves to a critical condition of weakness.

Mr. McKenna: I have already considered the possibility of such legislation, which might perhaps afford at any rate a partial solution of the problem. As my hon. friend, however, knows, it could not under any circumstances be proposed at present unless it were manifest that it would meet with acceptance by all parties in the House.

Sir W. Byles: Is legislation necessary? Is it not possible to do it through the Home Secretary?

Mr. McKenna: A prisoner committed to prison and not to penal servitude cannot be let out on licence.

On Wednesday, February 5, Mr. McKenna, replying to questions, said: The Prime Minister has asked me to reply to these questions. During the year 1912 66 suffragist prisoners out of a total of 240 received under sentence were released from the prison under my jurisdiction on medical grounds, with a few exceptions. The conditions of health which led to their discharge was due wholly or in part to their refusal to take food. None of them had been convicted of felony. There can be no doubt that the refusal to take food on the part of these prisoners and of others who were not released was due to a concerted action. It has not been necessary to consult the law officers on the question of feeding of prisoners, as in 1909 the High Court in the case of Leigh v. Gladstone, in which this question was raised, definitely decided that it was the duty of the prison officials to take such measures as were necessary for preserving the health and lives of the prisoners in their custody. I am not prepared, in the existing circumstances, to propose to the House the legislation which the Hon. Member's first question appeared to suggest [i.e., "to prevent the administration of the law being defeated"]. I may, however, refer to an answer I made on Thursday last to a question by the Hon. Member for the Morley Division.

Sir A. Markham asked whether it was legal to ask audiences to defeat the administration of the law.

Mr. McKenna said that this question must be addressed to the Attorney-General.

Sir William Byles: Has the right hon. gentleman abandoned the idea of finding some other way for dealing with these people?

Mr. McKenna asked the hon. member to suggest a way.

Sir A. Markham: Will the right hon. gentleman consider the question of forcibly deporting these people out of the country?

Mr. McKenna: Where?

Sir A. Markham: To St. Helena.

Sir A. Markham: Are we to understand that any person who chooses to destroy personal property or make the lives of other persons intolerable may by adopting starvation tactics get free from prison?

Mr. McKenna: The hon. member is only putting to me a hypothetical case. No such case has occurred. In case of a felony it would be open to me to let the prisoner out on licence and put the person in prison again, but in other cases I have not that power.

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To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—In a letter which I received the other day from a highly educated Russian of St. Petersburgh, there was a passage which, I think, may be of interest to your readers at a time when the mind of every suffragist is filled with horror and indignation at the forcible feeding of Miss Billinghurst.

Concerning this abominable practice he writes: "When reading about forcible feeding I get the very same impression as when I read of the tortures of the middle ages, and I feel disgusted that a thing like this is possible in our days, especially in Britain, the country to which we Russians, and, I would say, all other nations, look up, as to an ideal. Forcible feeding must have a very demoralising influence on those who execute it, and indirectly on the whole nation. The damage done to the health of the women must be terrible, and it is quite incomprehensible how the Government can injure the health of their own population. I sincerely hope that such horrors may be soon a thing of the past."—Yours, &c.,

HELEN M. MURRAY.

Caer-Edin, Bo'ness, West Lothian.

◆

As for the suffrage prisoners, every great cause has its martyrs (for some mysterious reason blood is the price that has to be paid for all advancement), and if a few women suffragists were to die in prison—and there are not wanting those who would, if need be, gladly sacrifice their lives for the cause—perhaps the slow-moving British public would insist on the instant doing of an act of elementary justice by the enfranchisement of women.—**The Christian Commonwealth**

COMING EVENTS

As we went to press on Wednesday evening a Great United Protest Demonstration to demand a Government measure for Woman Suffrage was being held at Queen's Hall, London. An account of the meeting, which was convened by the Federated Council of Suffrage Societies (16, St. James' Street, S.W.), will appear in our next issue.

To-morrow, Saturday, February 8, at noon, an exhibition of art, literature, and sweated industries will open in the Town Hall, Eastbourne. It is being organised by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage (136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W.), assisted by various woman suffrage associations. A Poster Parade through the town will announce the Exhibition, the object of which is "to convey an idea of the extent of the Woman Suffrage Movement, the magnitude of its organisations, and of the innumerable journalistic, literary, artistic, and other productions illustrating the need of women's political enfranchisement and the justice of their claim to full citizenship."

Miss Cicely Hamilton's play, "A Matter of Money," will be given by the Pioneer Players at the Little Theatre on Sunday, February 9, and Tuesday, February 11.

Mrs. Despard and other released prisoners will be welcomed on Monday evening, February 10, by the Women's Freedom League (1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.) at the Caxton Hall at 8 p.m.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. George Lansbury will speak for the M.P.U. (13, Buckingham Street, W.C.) in the Corn Exchange, Oxford, on Tuesday, February 11, when the chair will be taken by Mr. H. D. Harben.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak in the Town Hall, Rickmansworth, on Wednesday, February 12, at 8 p.m. The chair will be taken by Mr. H. D. Harben.

The Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association announce a meeting on Thursday, February 13, at 3.30, to be held at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James'. Particulars may be had from Mrs. Wingrove Cooke, Pera, The Ridgeway, Golder's Green.

The Play Actors announce two performances of Björnsen's play, "A Gauntlet," at the Court Theatre on Sunday, February 16 (for subscribers), and Monday, February 17 (for the general public). In this play, which is said to be even more in touch with modern thought than "A Doll's House," Miss Winifred Mayo will have an important part.

The Paddington Branch of the Church League for Woman Suffrage (Mrs. F. Shewell Cooper, 8, Warwick Avenue, Paddington) announce a meeting on Social Purity at the Elysée Galleries, Queen's Road, Bayswater, on Wednesday, February 19, at 8.30 p.m. The speaker will be Miss Maude Royden, and the chair will be taken by the Rev. C. Hinscliff.

We are asked to announce that the reunion dinner of the deputation of February, 1909, will take place at the Quadrant Restaurant, Regent Street, on Monday, February 24, at 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will preside. Members are asked to address all communications to Miss Daisy Solomon, 98, Sumatra Road, West Hampstead, or to Miss M. E. Thompson, 10, Stanley Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.

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THEFT v. ASSAULT

Those who persist in thinking that women are sufficiently protected under a system of society which is governed by man-made laws, and in which man-made standards prevail, might very profitably compare the different treatment meted out in the two following cases, both judged at the Worcestershire Quarter Sessions:—

Theft: A man, aged sixty-nine, was sentenced to one day's imprisonment (having been already two months in gaol awaiting trial) for stealing a pair of boots.

Assault: Three young men, two of whom were were aged seventeen, and one was aged eighteen, pleaded guilty to a joint assault on a young girl. *They were bound over to be of good behaviour in the future.*

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SUFFRAGIST CHURCHWOMEN'S PROTEST

We are asked to state that the first instalment of signatures to a protest of a practical nature, signed by a number of Suffragist Churchwomen, was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury on January 31. Further instalments will be sent up from time to time. All Churchwomen who are interested can obtain particulars from the Hon. Sec., 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

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JOHN BOND'S CRYSTAL PALACE MARKING INK
WITH OR WITHOUT HEATING
WHICHEVER KIND IS PREFERRED
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CORRESPONDENCE

THE FELLOWSHIP.

Your splendid paper is still the most interesting. I should so much like to know the particulars of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship.

I would very much like to become a member of your VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. As an Indian seeing the conditions in my own country, I have been an earnest believer in the new spirit underlying the Woman's Movement even before I came over here. It is the most universal movement of modern times, and of utmost vital importance to the future of humanity. I am a regular reader of your excellent paper—now and for some time past—and am trying to be of further help to the Cause, and will let you know when I am successful.

It may encourage others to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN if I tell you that last week I was able to sell over thirteen dozen copies. The work is not without its humorous side. When I was selling outside the "Anti" meeting at Queen's Hall two people came out, saying they had heard such "rot" talked inside they would buy of me and the SUFFRAGETTE seller to see what *we* had to say. The expressions of disgust and scorn of the "anti" ladies were indescribably funny! But one lady wanted to buy of me and her husband tried to prevent her. There was a good-humoured but real struggle between them, so I followed up, saying, "Yes do, yes do," and she and I won. When selling on Friday week outside the House of Commons an elderly and pompous member came out, and pointing to my papers asked, "What good do you think you are doing showing those?" "A great deal of good, I am selling them." "What good are you doing selling them?" "Educating people." "Do you think people need education?" "Most certainly I do, and "—bowing—"especially the members." This was quite enough for him; he fled.

"A Seller of VOTES."

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C. KING.

Clovelly Cottage, Stratton, N. Cornwall.

◆

The annual meeting of the Inner Temple decided not to admit women to practise as lawyers. Now we know why women talk so much about a "sex bar."—**Modern Man.**

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Women's Social and Political Union,
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Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

FORCIBLE FEEDING

In the House of Commons on Thursday, January 31, Mr. Gerald France asked the Home Secretary a question of which he had given private notice: If, in view of recent acts of violence by women and the possibility of a recurrence of hunger strikes in prison, he will consider the immediate necessity of legislation which would empower him to release on license only, without having recourse to forcible feeding, those who by refusing to take food have reduced themselves to a critical condition of weakness.

Mr. McKenna: I have already considered the possibility of such legislation, which might perhaps afford at any rate a partial solution of the problem. As my hon. friend, however, knows, it could not under any circumstances be proposed at present unless it were manifest that it would meet with acceptance by all parties in the House.

Sir W. Byles: Is legislation necessary? Is it not possible to do it through the Home Secretary?

Mr. McKenna: A prisoner committed to prison and not to penal servitude cannot be let out on licence.

On Wednesday, February 5, Mr. McKenna, replying to questions, said: The Prime Minister has asked me to reply to these questions. During the year 1912 66 suffragist prisoners out of a total of 240 received under sentence were released from the prison under my jurisdiction on medical grounds, with a few exceptions. The conditions of health which led to their discharge was due wholly or in part to their refusal to take food. None of them had been convicted of felony. There can be no doubt that the refusal to take food on the part of these prisoners and of others who were not released was due to a concerted action. It has not been necessary to consult the law officers on the question of feeding of prisoners, as in 1909 the High Court in the case of Leigh v. Gladstone, in which this question was raised, definitely decided that it was the duty of the prison officials to take such measures as were necessary for preserving the health and lives of the prisoners in their custody. I am not prepared, in the existing circumstances, to propose to the House the legislation which the Hon. Member's first question appeared to suggest [i.e., "to prevent the administration of the law being defeated"]. I may, however, refer to an answer I made on Thursday last to a question by the Hon. Member for the Morley Division.

Sir A. Markham asked whether it was legal to ask audiences to defeat the administration of the law.

Mr. McKenna said that this question must be addressed to the Attorney-General.

Sir William Byles: Has the right hon. gentleman abandoned the idea of finding some other way for dealing with these people?

Mr. McKenna asked the hon. member to suggest a way.

Sir A. Markham: Will the right hon. gentleman consider the question of forcibly deporting these people out of the country?

Mr. McKenna: Where?

Sir A. Markham: To St. Helena.

Sir A. Markham: Are we to understand that any person who chooses to destroy personal property or make the lives of other persons intolerable may by adopting starvation tactics get free from prison?

Mr. McKenna: The hon. member is only putting to me a hypothetical case. No such case has occurred. In case of a felony it would be open to me to let the prisoner out on licence and put the person in prison again, but in other cases I have not that power.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—In a letter which I received the other day from a highly educated Russian of St. Petersburgh, there was a passage which, I think, may be of interest to your readers at a time when the mind of every suffragist is filled with horror and indignation at the forcible feeding of Miss Billinghurst.

Concerning this abominable practice he writes: "When reading about forcible feeding I get the very same impression as when I read of the tortures of the middle ages, and I feel disgusted that a thing like this is possible in our days, especially in Britain, the country to which we Russians, and, I would say, all other nations, look up, as to an ideal. Forcible feeding must have a very demoralising influence on those who execute it, and indirectly on the whole nation. The damage done to the health of the women must be terrible, and it is quite incomprehensible how the Government can injure the health of their own population. I sincerely hope that such horrors may be soon a thing of the past."—Yours, &c.,

HELEN M. MURRAY.

Caer-Edin, Bo'ness, West Lothian.

As for the suffrage prisoners, every great cause has its martyrs (for some mysterious reason blood is the price that has to be paid for all advancement), and if a few women suffragists were to die in prison—and there are not wanting those who would, if need be, gladly sacrifice their lives for the cause—perhaps the slow-moving British public would insist on the instant doing of an act of elementary justice by the enfranchisement of women.—**The Christian Commonwealth**

COMING EVENTS

As we went to press on Wednesday evening a Great United Protest Demonstration to demand a Government measure for Woman Suffrage was being held at Queen's Hall, London. An account of the meeting, which was convened by the Federated Council of Suffrage Societies (16, St. James' Street, S.W.), will appear in our next issue.

To-morrow, Saturday, February 8, at noon, an exhibition of art, literature, and sweated industries will open in the Town Hall, Eastbourne. It is being organised by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage (136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W.), assisted by various woman suffrage associations. A Poster Parade through the town will announce the Exhibition, the object of which is "to convey an idea of the extent of the Woman Suffrage Movement, the magnitude of its organisations, and of the innumerable journalistic, literary, artistic, and other productions illustrating the need of women's political enfranchisement and the justice of their claim to full citizenship."

Miss Cicely Hamilton's play, "A Matter of Money," will be given by the Pioneer Players at the Little Theatre on Sunday, February 9, and Tuesday, February 11.

Mrs. Despard and other released prisoners will be welcomed on Monday evening, February 10, by the Women's Freedom League (1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.) at the Caxton Hall at 8 p.m.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. George Lansbury will speak for the M.P.U. (13, Buckingham Street, W.C.) in the Corn Exchange, Oxford, on Tuesday, February 11, when the chair will be taken by Mr. H. D. Harben.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak in the Town Hall, Rickmansworth, on Wednesday, February 12, at 8 p.m. The chair will be taken by Mr. H. D. Harben.

The Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association announce a meeting on Thursday, February 13, at 3.30, to be held at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James'. Particulars may be had from Mrs. Wingrove Cooke, Pera, The Ridgeway, Golder's Green.

The Play Actors announce two performances of Björnsen's play, "A Gauntlet," at the Court Theatre on Sunday, February 16 (for subscribers), and Monday, February 17 (for the general public). In this play, which is said to be even more in touch with modern thought than "A Doll's House," Miss Winifred Mayo will have an important part.

The Paddington Branch of the Church League for Woman Suffrage (Mrs. F. Shewell Cooper, 8, Warwick Avenue, Paddington) announce a meeting on Social Purity at the Elysée Galleries, Queen's Road, Bayswater, on Wednesday, February 19, at 8.30 p.m. The speaker will be Miss Maude Royden, and the chair will be taken by the Rev. C. Hinscliff.

We are asked to announce that the reunion dinner of the deputation of February, 1909, will take place at the Quadrant Restaurant, Regent Street, on Monday, February 24, at 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will preside. Members are asked to address all communications to Miss Daisy Solomon, 98, Sumatra Road, West Hampstead, or to Miss M. E. Thompson, 10, Stanley Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.

THEFT v. ASSAULT

Those who persist in thinking that women are sufficiently protected under a system of society which is governed by man-made laws, and in which man-made standards prevail, might very profitably compare the different treatment meted out in the two following cases, both judged at the Worcestershire Quarter Sessions:—

Theft: A man, aged sixty-nine, was sentenced to one day's imprisonment (having been already two months in gaol awaiting trial) for stealing a pair of boots.

Assault: Three young men, two of whom were were aged seventeen, and one was aged eighteen, pleaded guilty to a joint assault on a young girl. *They were bound over to be of good behaviour in the future.*

SUFFRAGIST CHURCHWOMEN'S PROTEST

We are asked to state that the first instalment of signatures to a protest of a practical nature, signed by a number of Suffragist Churchwomen, was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury on January 31. Further instalments will be sent up from time to time. All Churchwomen who are interested can obtain particulars from the Hon. Sec., 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, *4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception, Westminster Palace Hotel, February 7. Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves, Robert Cholmeley, Esq., Mrs. Maitland, Miss Catharine Marshall.

OXFORD. — MEN'S POLITICAL UNION.—A meeting will be held at the Corn Exchange, Tuesday, February 11, at 8.15 p.m. Chair: Mr. H. D. Harben. Speakers: Mr. George Lansbury, L.C.C., Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence. Tickets may be obtained at Mr. Giles, bookseller, Broad Street. Reserved, 2s. 6d.; unreserved 1s. and 6d.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE announce a Public Meeting at Caxton Hall, Wednesday, February 12. Speakers, Miss Eunice Murray and the Rev. Llewellyn Smith. The chair will be taken promptly at 3.30 by Miss Boyle.

CHURCH LEAGUE, PADDINGTON Branch. Elysée Galleries, Queen's Road, Bayswater. Wednesday, February 19, 8.30 p.m. Miss Maude Royden on "Social Purity." Chairman, Rev. C. Hinscliff. Admission free. Reserved seats, 1s. or 6d., from Mrs. Cooper, 8, Warwick Avenue, Paddington.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

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BRIGHTON. — TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

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HYDE PARK.—Comfortable, Refined home, late dinner; telephone, baths, from 17s. 6d. to 25s.—Miss Simmons, 19, James Street, Westbourne Terrace.

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GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? Send 7d. (15cts., American stamps) for *101 Questions Answered*, a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities.—Katharine Bushnell, "Bernard Lodge," 10A, Drayton Park, Highbury, London, N.

LADIES Suffering from Neglected Education speedily benefit by my course of postal tuition. Writing, correspondence, correct speech.—Miss T., 31, Compton Road, Winchmore Hill.

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MRS. MARY OATEN'S Dental Surgery, 10, Sydney Place, South Kensington, S.W. Telephone: Ken. 1084.—Artificial teeth at reasonable prices. Extractions absolutely painless. Gold fillings a specialty.

MOTOR-DRIVING and Mechanism.—Miss Addis Price personally instructs ladies in all branches; terms on application.—36, Long Acre. Phone 1642 Gerrard.

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

WHAT TO DO WITH OUR GIRLS.—Train for dairy and poultry farming; a profitable occupation adaptable for home or colonies; send now for free booklet to—Mrs. Dutton, Springhall, Sawbridgeworth.

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SITUATIONS VACANT.

GOOD GENERAL wanted, Leicester suburb, 3 in family; Suffragist preferred.—Apply Mrs. Folwell, Cairene, Guilford Road, Leicester.

WANTED by Suffrage Society, Secretary; typewriting, shorthand, financial experience. Reply Box 316, c/o VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

WANTED, Lady to run small Cottage on Poultry Farm; no servant kept; pocket-money, £18 to £20.—Spong, Felbridge Poultry Farm, E. Grinstead.

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ELDERLY SUFFRAGETTE requires light employment, plain sewing, cooking, care of offices; thoroughly trustworthy.—Box 312, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

YOUNG LADY desires Engagement as Organiser for Suffrage Society, or secretarial duties; full time employment.—Box 314, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, E.C.

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GARDENING for Health. Ladies received; charming country residence; elevated situation; open-air life; competent instruction; individual consideration.—Peake, Udimore, Rye.

GARDENING TAUGHT. — Glasshouse work; vegetable, fruit, and floriculture; mushrooms, bees, poultry, and jam-making. Fees, board-residence and tuition, 4 guineas per month.—Mr. and Mrs. W. Rayner, F.R.H.S., Acacia House, Harmondsworth, Middlesex. 'Bus route, Hounslow to Windsor; alight at Hatch Lane.

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Great SALE of HOSIERY, Underclothing, GLOVES & BLOUSES

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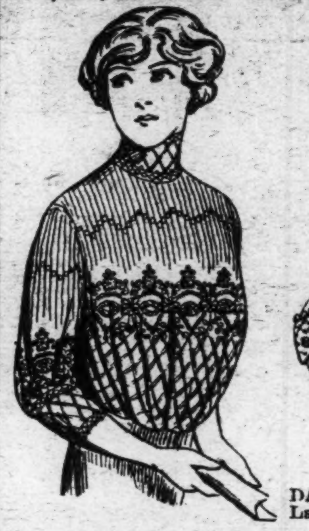
Sale Commences Tuesday, Feb. 11th,

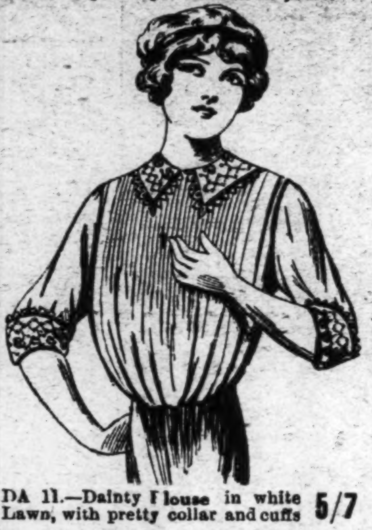
and continues throughout the week

Values in Blouses

Very attractive is this display of Blouses. The materials are of the best quality—price considered; the prices are the lowest possible—quality considered. There is variety in style as well as price.

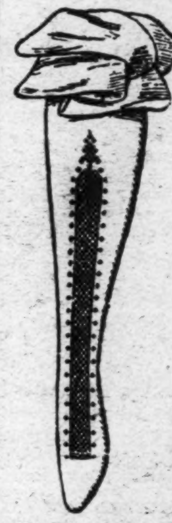


DA 9.—New Idea. Lace and Ivory lined through Jap Silk **9/11**



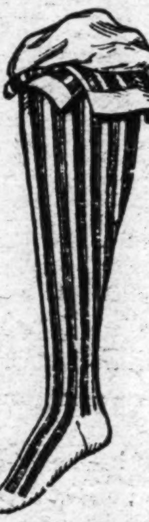
DA 11.—Dainty Blouse in white Lawn, with pretty collar and cuffs **5/7**

Sundry Bargains



D 13.—Lisle Hose. Helio, mastic, & saxe, with open lace front & embroideries **1/6**

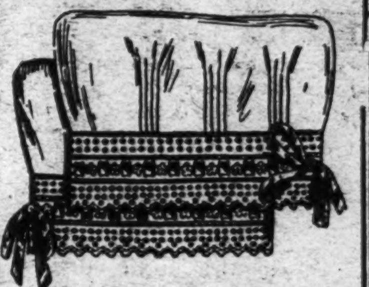
BL 62.—Moire Antique Skirts, will not split, beautifully soft finish. In good shades of ivory, grey, mole, helio, amethyst, brown, navy, saxe, tea rose, sky, and black ... **10/6**



D 14.—Wide Drop Stitch Lisle Hose. In mole, saxe, grey, and silver. A really smart Stocking ... **1/3**

Underwear Bargains

Having secured this stock under the most favourable conditions, we are consequently in a position to offer them at extraordinarily low prices.



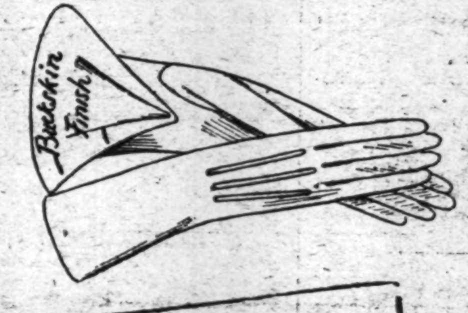
BL 45.—An Unusual Opportunity. Ladies' Knickers as sketch, with embroidery and ribbon **1/11½**

BL 32.—Longcloth Nightdress, trimmed embroidery as sketch; full size. **3/11½**

Special Glove Offers

We take pride in presenting such desirable qualities at these prices. Here are three of the most attractive glove offerings of the sale.

Smart Glove, 8-button length, "Reindeer Finish," in grey, white, black, mole, and beavers **2/11½**



Smart Glove, Buckskin finish, very soft skins, in drabs, greys, white, black, and moles. Most useful and reliable Glove. Very special **1/6**

Choice Reindeer Finish Glove, with 2 pearl buttons, in black, white, slate, beaver, mole, tabac, champagne. Beautifully fitting glove **1/11½**

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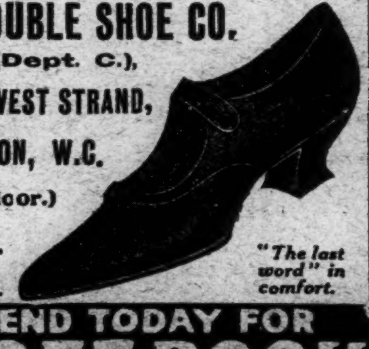

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